

Elizabethan England

Being the History of this Country
“In Relation to all Foreign Princes.”

FROM ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, MANY HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED;
CO-ORDINATED WITH XVIth CENTURY PRINTED MATTER
RANGING FROM ROYAL PROCLAMATIONS
TO BROADSIDE BALLADS.

A Survey of Life and Literature

BY

E. M. TENISON

Member of the Society for Nautical Research.

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**At the Sign of the Dove with the Griffin,
Royal Leamington Spa, in the County of Warwick.**

MDCCCXXXIII

ELIZABETH

REGINA



" ELIZABETHA REGINA ":

From a picture ascribed to Lucas de Heere.

Now in the National Gallery of Ireland.

Reproduced by permission of the Board of Guardians and Governors.

Panel, $13\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ inches. No. 531.

Purchased for the Gallery in 1903
from Mess^{rs}. Shepherd Bros.

Blue-grey eyes, reddish hair; fair complexion.

Dressed in black; sleeves and ruff laced with gold; small black headgear embroidered with gold pearls.

Elizabethan England.

BOOK I.

“A most renowned Virgin Queen.”

(1558—1585)

“A most renowned virgin Queen
Whose like on earth was never seen.”

*“A famous dittie of the joyful receaving of the Quenes most excellent maiestie . .
at Her Graces coming to Saint James.”*

VOLUME II.

FROM THE APPOINTMENT OF THE DUKE OF ALBA TO RULE THE NETHERLANDS, APRIL, 1567,
TO THE PETITION OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT FOR LEAVE TO DISCOVER “RICH AND UNKNOWN
LANDS,” 1574.

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PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION I.

“Exceeding all Spaniards of his time.”

(The 3rd Duke of Alba: 1567-69).

“And because it is meet that a person qualified by authority, prudence, and experience” (should command these forces) “. . . knowing that in you, Don Fernando de Toledo, Duke of Alba and Marquis of Coria . . . all these qualities combine, . . . and being certain of the great love and attachment you have for Us, . . . We create you . . . Captain-General . . .”

King Philip II to the Duke of Alba: 21st April, 1567.

Commission (“Yo el Rey”); in possession of the Duke of Berwick and Alba. (Palacio de Liria MSS) first translated, p. 7.

“Now that the King my master gives me the charge of these Countries till he arrives, . . . being above all charged by His Majesty to carry on the fraternal friendship which has always been between him and Your Majesty, . . . I must not omit to notify to you, very high and powerful Princess, that Your Majesty will find in me a wholehearted desire to serve him, and accomplish this . . . charge . . . in regard to you.”

“The Duke of Alua to the Q(ueen)s Ma(jes)tie.” “De Bruxelles le vij^e de Februrier, 1567. . . .”

Original; first published, p. 7.

“Don Ferdinando . . . Duke of Alua . . . haughtie of minde, stoute of courage, . . . of surpassing skill and knowledge in feates and policies of warre, exceeding therein all Spaniards of his time . . . a continuall practitioner in warres defensive and offensive, . . .”

“The ciuill Warres proceeding in the Netherlands, vnder Don Ferdinando Aluares de Toledo Duke of Alua: sent thither by the King of Spaine as Commander Generall:” in “A Trve Discourse Historicall, &c., &c., manifesting all martiall actions meete for euery good subject to reade . . . London. . . . 1602.” p. 16.

NOTE ON THE DEATH OF DON CARLOS, 1568.

The death, in July 1568, of Don Carlos, son and heir of Philip II of Spain, (born 1545) gave rise to many wild rumours; some of King Philip's enemies not hesitating to whisper that he himself had poisoned the Prince.

Possibly the peculiarities of Don Carlos may have arisen from the effects of an accident which six years earlier had nearly killed him. His father then (4th June, 1562) wrote to the Spanish Ambassador in England,

"You will have heard already of the illness of the Prince my son, from a wound in the head through a fall. It brought him so low that there were but scant hopes for his life; but God always shows his clemency, . . . and deigned to preserve him"

(*Cal: State Papers, Spanish*, No. 163. p. 238).

As to the story that King Philip was his son's murderer, such a crime would have been contrary to his interests. Though in Portugal there had long been an equivalent to the French Salique Law, it was nevertheless arranged, in 1543 when Prince Philip of Spain married his first cousin Maria of Portugal (aged 15), that if the male line of her father John III should fail, *her children if male should be eligible for succession to the Crown of Portugal*. This treaty, highly gratifying to the Spaniards, was most unpopular with the Portuguese: wherefore in 1568 the death of Don Carlos, unmarried, was regarded in Portugal as providential.

For "*Cartas del Principe Don Carlos, . . . y noticias de su vida y muerte*," see "*Documentos Escogidos Del Archivo de la Casa de Alba*," Madrid, 1891, pp. 402-421.

The short and unhappy life of Don Carlos has been theme for various discourses: such as, Gachard, "*Don Carlos et Philippe II*" (Brussels).

"*El Principe D. Carlos*," Maurenbrecher; Spanish translation by D. Hinojosa in "*Estudios sobre Felipe II*," Madrid, August, 1904;

Rachfahl, "*Don Carlos, Kritische Untersuchungen*," (Freiburg), 1921.

The mother of Don Carlos died, aged 17, in giving him birth.

He was from first to last unfortunate. An attempt, however, to represent him as enamoured of his young stepmother, Isabel of Valois, appears unjustified.

His portrait, in the Prado, has been so often reproduced that it is not here included.

¶ A iustification or cleering of the Prince of Orendge agaynst the false sclannders, wherwith his ilwillers-goe about to charge him wrongfully.

Psalm. 17.

¶ The malicious person layeth wayte for the righteous, and seeketh hym to put hym to death. But the Lorde wyll nor leaue hym vp into his handes, nor account hym for an offender, though he be taken for such a one.

Psal. 5.

¶ Thou wyllt destroye them that speake lyes, The Lorde abhorreth the murderer and the deceiver. Lord leade me forth in thy righteousnesse, because of the that lye in wayt for me.

Psal. xciiij.

¶ They imbattell them selues agaynst the soule of the righteous, and condemne the gyltlesse bloud. But the Lord wyl be my defence, and my God shalbe the rocke of my truste.

¶ *Imprinted at London, by Iohn Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate. Febr. 24.*

These booke are to be sold at his long shop at the West doore of Paulces.

Title-page of "A Justification . . of the Prince of Orendge: (p. 176: "*Imprinted at London by Iohn Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate, Februar. 24, 1575.*")

B.M. 1056, n. 5. First published in French:

"*La Justification du Prince d'Oranges, contre les faulx blasmes que ses calomnieux tachent a luy imposer a tort . . . Imprime au moys d'Apuril. Anno 1568.*" (Conjectured to have been printed at Antwerp.) B.M. 8079. a. 9. The English translation adheres closely to the French: except that it does not include the List of Contents on the back of the title-page; and a preface "To the Reader" (undated) is added.

This "Justification"—in reply to the "Citation" against the Prince, quoted by him on pp. 55-60,—in no way repudiates King Philip's sovereignty; nor does it contain any sentiments detrimental to Monarchy. The protest is against the Inquisition; and especially against Cardinal Granvelle and his Bishops, who are denounced as the chief promoters of all the troubles of the Netherlands.

For the Prince's further Declaration, 20 July, 1568, see overleaf.



A Declaration
and publication of the most
worthy Prince of Orange,
contaynyng the cause of his ne-
cessary defence against the
Duke of Alba.
x. x

*¶ Translated out of French into English, and
cōpared by other copies in diuers languages.*

PSALM. XCIIII.

**They gather them together agaynst the
soule of the righteous, and cōdemne the in-
nocent blood. But the Lord is my refuge
and my God is the rocke of myne hope.
And he will recompence them their wicked-
nes, and destroy them in their owne malice:
yea, the Lord our God shall destroy them.**

**¶ Imprinted at London by Iohn Day,
beneath S. Martins ouer
Aldersgate.**

Title-page, now first reproduced, of protest of the Prince of Orange
against the Duke of Alba, dated "XX of July, 1568."

"Translated out of French into English." (B.M. 1313. a. 5. Small 8vo).

London: no date, but ascribed in the British Museum Catalogue to 1568.

The French version is also in B.M. (9210. a. 15 (2)).

It seems doubtful if modern English historians when summarising the Prince of Orange's views, have consulted his own "Declaration"; for the fashion is to class his struggle with the Duke of Alba as a contest of Republicanism against Monarchy. But nowhere is any such theory indicated in the blackletter pamphlet, in which the Prince claims to be a better Monarchist than the Duke, whom he accuses of discrediting the King's name by his own tyrannies. Actually the Duke was shouldering the blame of the King's harsh commands, and diverting the popular indignation from his Sovereign to himself.

Acute antagonism between the two leaders and fighters was inevitable. But as one of our English officers, Roger Williams, who in 1572 was to serve against the Duke of Alba on behalf of the Prince of Orange, nevertheless could see the case for both, it ought not to be impossible for us retrospectively to emulate what a soldier's mind could compass even during the war.

DON FERNANDO ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO: III DUQUE DE ALBA,
MARQUÉS DE CORIA, &c.: when Captain General in the Netherlands. 1569.

*From the original by Adrian Key:
in possession of the Duke of Berwick and Alba,
at the Palacio de Liria, Madrid.*

In 1602 an account of "Don Ferdinando de Toledo Duke of Alua" was translated from Van Meteren's *Historia Belgica* by Thomas Churchyard, a veteran who had fought for King Philip and Queen Mary in France in 1558. The Duke is there described "as tall of personage, leane of bodie, . . . upright in stature . . . of fierce and grim countenance, with a long grey beard; haughtie of mind, stoute of courage. . ." "*A Trve Discourse Historicall.*"

For other descriptions of his appearance, and of his various portraits (with illustrations) see "*Discurso del Excelentísimo Señor Duque de Berwick y de Alba. Madrid. 1919 . . . estudio de la persona de Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, III Duque de Alba. Real Academia de la Historia.*" Madrid. 1919.

For Mireveldt's picture of the Duke's adversary, William, Prince of Orange, see Vol. V.

The early relations between the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Alba can be seen from two exceedingly affectionate letters in Spanish from "*El Principe dorange*" to Ex. S^r el Duque "dalua," from Brussels, and Grave, both in 1560: printed in "*Documentos Escogidos Del Archivo de la Casa de Alba,*" published by the Duchess of Berwick and Alba, Madrid, 1891, pp. 179-180:

"Y siendo cierto que V. Ex^a terá en esto y en todo lo demás que me tocara la memoria que mi afición que he tenido y tengo de servir á V. Ex^a, merece, no me alargo en ello más, certificando á V. Ex^a que siempre me hallará de la misma manera aparejado en aquello que me querrá hazer merced de mandar, como lo deuo á la particular afición de padre V. Ex^a siempre me ha mostrada en todas las cosas que me han ofrescidas, de que me siento particularmente obligado."

Though the political circumstances were fated to change this admiration into acute antagonism, each adversary knew the capacity of the other.



PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION I.

“Exceeding all Spaniards of his time.”

(*Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duque de Alba*).

ON the 21st of July 1567, the Spanish Ambassador had written from London to King Philip,

“With all the demonstrations of friendship . . . I make to the Queen from your Majesty, *I still find her rather anxious about the coming of the Duke of Alba to Flanders . . . she gives me to understand that the French are suspicious, and not without reason, since Flanders is tranquil, and there can be no need for sending more troops.* . . . She, however, wishes for your Majesty’s coming more than she could say,” even if it were “but for a day.” Yet she keeps returning to “the coming of the Duke, and the assertion that it was no longer necessary. I told her that the Duke, no doubt, had followed the orders your Majesty had given him when he left Spain”¹

On the 16th of August the Ambassador wrote further:

“*They cannot quiet themselves about the coming of the Duke of Alba. The Queen has spoken about it several times; and has again raised the subject . . . Cecil approached it even more carefully, and said everyone was surprised at the great forces your Majesty had, and the expense of sustaining them, . . . he thought it might give rise to trouble and inconvenience . . . to all of which I replied fittingly.*”²

The anxiety of the Queen and Cecil as to King Philip’s purpose in sending the Duke to Flanders strikes a note which was to reverberate loudly.

When in April, 1567, Prince William of Orange had resigned his office of Privy Councillor to King Philip, and retired to his countship of Nassau, this was the prelude to one of the longest wars in history. Early in 1568, the Prince by

¹ Cal. S.P.S. (Simancas) Eliz: I. p. 659.

² Ib. p. 671.

"citation" and proclamation of King Philip's Attorney-General, was deprived of his privileges: and henceforth to the violent end of his life in 1584, he was "in rebellion"; and had never a day of rest.

Opening in the same year that Queen Mary of Scots, defeated by her subjects at Langside, had fled to England, the war was not to have ended when Queen Elizabeth lay on her deathbed thirty-five years later. As Strada the Jesuit retrospectively expressed it:

*"I enter upon the Historie of a warre, doubtful whether to call it the Warre of the Low-Countrymen and the Spaniards, or almost of all Europe: For to this hour we see it managed by Arms and Purses, at least by the Designs and Counsels, of so many Nations, as if in the Low Countreys onely the Empire of Europe was to be disputed. Wherein many, I presume, will be concerned to read what their Country-men, what their kinsmen, have acted in the field. The rest, though unconcerned, may yet desire to know from whence a few Belgick Provinces have had the confidence and strength, to fight for three score years together, with a most potent King, . . . from whence, upon the coast of Holland out of a few fisher boats there hath sprung up a new State; which growing daily stronger in Arms will now brooke no Superior by Land and can have none by Sea: that in mighty fleets have sent Plantations to the remotest parts of the Earth: that by their Ambassadors, making leagues with Princes," carry themselves "as not inferior to Kings." . . ."*¹

This is written after the events. But at the beginning it appeared almost incredible that so relatively small a body of men could hope for victory.

In England to-day we take our views of these circumstances commonly from the eloquent but not judicial pages of Motley. Our present purpose will be better served by turning to the words of those immediately concerned. As the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Alba were old acquaintances, who had both sat in the Council Chamber of the Emperor Charles, the enmity between them was the more bitter. To the Duke, the Prince was a contumacious traitor, setting a dangerous example to his inferiors; while in the Prince's eyes the Duke was an overbearing tyrant, claiming authority beyond any that the King or even the Emperor had wielded. But until we learn the terms of the Duke's Commission we will not be in a position to judge if he exceeded it; and unless we study Prince William's Declaration "*contayning the cause of his necessary defence against the Duke of Alba. Translated out of French into English,*" 1568, we will imperfectly realise what the Duke's mere name conveyed to Protestants. This Declaration can hardly have been read by Corbett when in *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, 1898, he alluded to the Duke as peaceful. Certainly the ultimate aim of all wars is peace; but each Commander-in-Chief aims at peace on his own terms. The Duke's idea of what constituted peace was very different from that of the Provinces he was sent to govern.

On the 21st of April, 1567, "Philip by the grace of God King of Castile, Leon, and Aragon, and the two Sicilies; of Jerusalem, Navarre, Granada; Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Mallorca; Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica," etcetera, "Count

¹ "*De Bello Belgico. The History of the Low-Country Warres. Written in Latine by Faminiv Strada; In English by Sir Rob. Stapylton, Kt. . . . London. Printed for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Princes Arms in St. Pauls-Churchyard. MDCL.*" (p. i. Dedication.)

of Barcelona, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, and Milan, Count of Flanders and of Tyrol," had specified that because certain "alterations" had occurred in the Netherlands "on the grounds of religion," and also on other pretexts, it became needful for "the service of God (and the preservation of His Holy Catholic faith, for which we have so great an obligation and respect,") to take measures so that the "recent notable inconveniences should cease" His Majesty

"decided therefore to assemble and form an Army . . . of Men-at-Arms,² Light Horse, and Infantry German and Spanish, and of the natives of the said country, and others: with artillery, munitions, victuals, and all things needed . . . to secure the (desired) results . . . with the help of God.

"And because it is meet that a person qualified by authority, prudence, and experience" should have charge of these forces, "knowing that in you D. Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba and Marquis of Coria, our cousin, of our Counsel of State, . . . all these qualities combine,—the proof thereof having been given in the way in which you . . . held such charges in the time of the Emperor my Lord who rests in glory,— . . . and being certain that with the great love and attachment you have for Us, you will act . . . as we confidently expect, We . . . create you, the said Duke, our Captain-General . . . of whatsoever fighting men, as well Foot as Horse, of all nations" as shall form the Army "for the time of its duration. . . ."

All powers, prerogatives and privileges which had been given to the Captain-General under the late Emperor were conferred upon him; and he was allowed to appoint his own officers, "*and dismiss them when and how seems good and right to you; . . . (and) freely and like ourselves to administer justice*" His position was not only supreme in the field but also he was to be Viceroy in civil matters. There follow instructions as to his provisioning the camp, "as we ourselves would do." And all officers and men "of whatsoever quality, grade or conditions," were commanded to "obey, respect, assist, and honour" him; under pain of the royal "anger and indignation" if they falter in their deference or their duty.

"*De Bruxelles le vij^e de Februrier, 1567 Stil des pays de pardeca,*" the Duke wrote to Queen Elizabeth:

"Very high, very excellent, and very powerful Princess.

"Now that the King my master gives me the charge of these Countries until he arrives, which I hope God will permit in a short time, and being above all charged by his Majesty to carry on the fraternal friendship which has always been between him and your Majesty, and the good intelligence and neighbourly feeling of these vassal and subject Countries on the one part and the other, (I) must not omit to notify you, very high, excellent and powerful Princess, that your Majesty will find in me a wholehearted desire to serve him and accomplish this good and reasonable charge that his Majesty has given me in regard to you,"

of which the Spanish Ambassador will more fully inform her. And wishing her

¹ "*Titulo de Capitan General del exercito que se a de formar, en Flandes al Duque de Alba.*" Original Signed, "Yo el Rey": in possession of the Duke of Berwick and Alba at the Palacio de Liria. Unpublished; the main points now first translated. They confirm Sir Roger Williams's subsequent statement, in "*The Actions in the Low Countries,*" as to the extensive powers conferred on the Duke.

² Heavy Cavalry.

"a long and happy life," he is her very humble servant.¹ The words to be noted are that "the King my master gives me the charge of these Countries *until he arrives*." In the later Declaration, 1581, by the Northern Provinces, the representatives of those States protested that whereas the King in 1567 had given it to be understood that he would come to them in person, he had broken his words; and "contrary to the duty which a good Prince owes to his subjects," had "sent the Duke of Alva with a powerful army"

The Duke " (though a stranger and no way related to the Royal family) declared he had a Captain-General's Commission, and, soon after, that of Governor . . . and the more to manifest his designs, he immediately garrisons the principal towns and Castles, and causes fortresses and citadels to be built . . . " treating "these countreys as new conquests"

Objection is made against the Duke ("who had no right, nor could be a competent judge") having sentenced Dutchmen to death for political reasons. But however naturally the Netherlanders resented being controlled and taxed by the Spanish General,—especially as he could enforce his will, or rather the King's will, by means of a formidable army,—it can now be shown that his actions were no more autocratic than his Commission warranted.

According to the "*Declaration*" what exasperated the Northern Dutch was not solely the religious persecution but also the new taxation upon "merchandise and manufactory": after which the Prince of Orange had an increasing number of followers who regarded the Spaniards as their common enemy, and the Duke as their heaviest oppressor.

In Captain Thomas Churchyard's rendering of these events, as translated from Van Meteren's "*Historia Belgica*," censure is freely intermingled:²

"Don Ferdinando Aluares Duke of Alua, a noble personage . . . , but a notable cruelle Tyrant: tall of personage, leane of bodie, . . . strong of members, upright in stature, long and leane faced, hollow eyed, of fierce and grim countenance, with a long and grey beard; haughtie of mind, stoute of courage, and (as my author sayeth) *Magnus Aulicus, Insignis Dissimulator*: yet of surpassing skill and knowledge in feates and policies of Warre, exceeding therein all Spaniards of his time:

" . . . as he exercised most severe martiall discipline in his warres, so used hee great judgment in leading forth his armies, pitching his tents, and pointing out harbours for his

¹ Now first published from orig: in French; docketed "7 Feb: 1567. The Duke of Alua to the Q. Ma^{te}." Not holog: Signed. S.P.F. LXXXVIII. (752) f. 90. (Cal: 1566-1568 numbers it 930).

² Many particulars in Declaration of 26 July, 1581. Lord Somers' *Tracts*, ed: 1809. Vol. I, p. 325.

³ *A True Discourse Historicall, of the succeeding Governours in the Netherlands, and the Ciuill warres there, begun in the yeere 1565*" &c., &c. (London, 1602). See pp. 15-24 for "*The ciuill Warres proceeding in the Netherlands, vnder Don Ferdinando Aluares de Toledo Duke of Alua: sent thither by the King of Spaine as Commander Generall*."

Although not published till the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the "*Discourse*" is of special interest, because Churchyard the translator was an old and experienced campaigner. In the reign of Philip and Mary he had served under Lord Grey of Wilton in the defence of Guisnes. Subsequently he had been a Captain in Antwerp in 1566, the year that Protestants attacked the Cathedral. On matters whereon he conceived himself to know more than Van Meteren, he added to the text, and specified where he had done so.

souldiers, because he was of long time a continuall practitioner in warres defensive and offensive: and so bold he was, and of such stout self-conceit, as one fearing no daunger, that he would take upon him no charge of any armie except he might have the chiefe place and prerogative of Commander Generall, as the Spaniards call it.

"... he served both the father Charles the 5 Emperour . . . and Philip the sonne . . . in chiefest place or calling of martiall affaires, and that in most important and difficult enterprises: *managing their warres in Italy, Spaine, France, Hungary, Germany, Africk and the Netherlands: . . .*"

Van Meteren claims that on the Duke's arrival in the Low Countries he "now found all things in peaceable state": But that "within a yeare after" there was much discontent from his "new impositions, . . . confiscation of goods, imprisonment, ciuill warres and unmercifull death: daily inveighing against them, that they had broken their allegiance to the King and his supreme authoritie, and that they had lost all privilege of libertie, life and possessions."

Special offence was given because the Duke formed "a generall new Concell of the states, abrogating old, and establishing new lawes, quite contrary to the ancient and former customes of those countries: urging daily the new Bishops to be diligent in executing the said Inquisition, . . . he himself setting all things in order for ciuill wars, fortifieth old and constructeth new fortresses, castles and muniments, making provision for prisons, and other such preparations."

His name speedily became a byword for severity to heretics; and the statue of himself which he caused to be erected in Antwerp drew upon him the whole brunt of resentment and hatred which otherwise would have been concentrated upon King Philip.¹

The Emperor Charles V, in his written advice to his son, had bidden Philip be careful in regard to the Duke of Alba, whom he would be obliged to employ, as by far the ablest man in his service, but of whose "ambition" he should beware. This qualification was unjust; for the Duke's dominant ambition had been, and remained to the end, the service of his Sovereign.

It will be impossible fully to understand the actions either of King Philip's champions or of the defenders of Queen Elizabeth unless we bear constantly in mind that their affection for these cold-hearted Sovereigns was an essential part of their religion. The Monarch might be inconsiderate of their feelings and ungrateful for their labours; but the duty of the loyal subject to uphold the Crown remained always the same.

The Duke of Alba in 1571 wrote to Cardinal Pacheco, "*Very reluctantly would I adore idols made by the hand of man; but the King whom God made I do (adore).*" His readiness to provoke unpopularity in order to shield the King, appears from his own words, in 1568 in a private letter:

"As to the financial settlement, I should very much like to have it completed; because it will be a matter in which it may be necessary to arouse

¹ "*Discurso del Excelentissimo Señor Duque de Berwick y de Alba. Madrid. 1919 . . . estudio de la persona de Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, III Duque de Alba.*" (*Real Academia de la Historia*). 1919. pp. 86-89, and pp. 128-130 Note Z; and p. 165. And facing p. 86 a print (from Van Meteren's History, f. 291), "*Estatua del Duque de Alba erigida en Amberes, obra de Jungling.*"

² Op. cit. p. 62. ³ To Cardinal Pacheco. op. cit. p. 62.

some discontent; and *everything necessary to be done which will cause dissatisfaction or provoke violence I wish carried out before His Majesty arrives, so that the entire opprobrium may fall on me.*"

This was what happened; for soon the Prince of Orange in his "*Declaration*" (20th of July 1568) was to be contrasting the "clement" King and the haughty Duke. In his earlier manifesto, however, it had been Cardinal de Granvelle whom the Prince held primarily responsible.

"... To show who have been the chief ringleaders . . . of the troubles that have happened in the Low Country: the only thing to be considered is who they were that had cause to desire innovation, . . . for any commodity or profit which they looked for . . ."

"Before the late troubles," and after the wars against the French, though the people were "in some unquietness by reason of the Inquisition," they nevertheless "in all other respects" had been ready to "yield all due obedience." Mutual trust, prosperity and peace had then been possible. At present the King's Attorney General had alleged the ambition of Prince William as the reason for the existing "wretchedness." If such a suggestion had been true, "We, William of Nassaw Prince of Orendge" would not refuse to accept punishment. But his disposition, actions, and estate, show him as never ambitious for himself.² He recapitulates his services in the time of the Duchess of Parma,³ and maintains that the present cause of upheaval is the "practises" of Cardinal "Granvil" and the extreme rigour of the Inquisition. During the wars, the Inquisition had been relaxed; and the country had prospered internally. But now the very name of the Inquisition is abhorred; "about fifty thousand persons" having been executed under its decrees, and an equal number "driven to forsake their goods, parents, friends and kinsfolk, and to live continually in miserable exile," because they would not conform to "men's inventions."⁴

There follow sixteen pages as to the Cardinal's political ambitions, and the overbearing conduct of the prelates he favoured.⁵ "... forasmuch then as the Inquisition . . . was the cause of the peoples displeasure," states Prince William, it follows that all the troubles that ensued are to be charged upon the Inquisition "and not upon any other thing": least of all upon his own alleged "ambition." He resolutely defends his loyalty: "mine intent hath been nothing else but to pacify the said countries and the Provinces of Zeland and 'Utreight' . . . *no place hath been destroyed, . . . or turned away from their due obedience to the King's Majesty or the Regent.*"⁶

He answers the various charges in the "*Citation*"; and in conclusion reiterates that to Cardinal "Granvil" and his thirst for domination is the present unhappy state of the Netherlands to be ascribed.⁷

¹ "*Justification*," p. 1. spelling modernised. ² pp 5-10. ³ pp. 11-15. ⁴ pp. 16-17.

⁵ Whether this charge is just or not, it is remarkable that Sir Roger Williams subsequently describes the Cardinal as jealous even of the Duke of "Alva," p. 197.

⁶ p. 50. ⁷ pp. 71-72.

"I beseech God that the King's Majesty being enlightened" may prevent further trouble; and "take intelligence of the doings of his good servants and faithful subjects, which are now wrongfully slandered, persecuted and afflicted; so as the world may know that the things which have passed proceeded not of his Majesty's own nature, but of the misreports, tales and slanders of such as have disguised the truth, and concealed it from him, even to this hour."¹

This appeal did not melt the King's heart, but led instead to sterner measures on the part of the Captain-General. Whereupon, four months later, (20th July, 1568), William "the Silent" issued a "*Declaration*"; this time directly against the Duke of Alba.²

In the interval between the *Justification*, 30th March, and the *Declaration*, 20th July, a tragedy had taken place, which accounts for the difference of tone in these successive protests.

Of Flemish persons of quality, next to the Prince of Orange Count Egmont was the most conspicuous; and his adherence to the cause of his own countrymen very gratifying to them. His efforts to persuade King Philip to modify the power of the Inquisition were known and admired in England. And nobody at that time would have forgotten how in the last year of the reign of Philip and Mary (1558) "Queen Maries Navie" had arrived at the exact moment when Egmont, commanding for King Philip, was meeting the French in battle outside the Castle of Gravelines.³ With the aid of English naval guns, Egmont had given to the French the defeat which, following upon the victory of St. Quentin the previous August, opened the way for the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis: wherein King Philip's terms were such as to cripple France for the next thirty years.

As Alba and Egmont had toiled in the service of the same King and master, all the more startling was it when it fell to the lot of the Duke to condemn Egmont for "high treason."

The sentence published on the 4th of June 1568, (by order of "the very illustrious and very excellent Lord Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva, Marquis of Coria, and Lieutenant Governor and Commander General, for the King our Lord, of these his Low Countries of Flanders"), was to the effect that Admiral Count Egmont "having committed criminal Lese Majesté and rebellion," and favouring and being concerned in "the abominable conspiracy of the Prince of Orange and many other Gentlemen of the said States," and having joined with seditious rebels not only against the King but "against the Holy Roman Catholic Church," he "must be executed with the sword, and his head exposed in a public place . . . in order that it can be seen by all . . . [and] no one shall dare to take it away under pain of death."⁴

¹ p. 73. (finis.)

² "*Rescript et Declaration du . . . Prince d'Orange contenant l'occasion de la defense inevitable de son Excellence contre l'horrible tyrannie du Duc d'Alba et ses adherens.*" B.M. 9210. a. 15(2). B.M. Catalogue classes this as printed at Antwerp, 1568.

³ Prologue. Sec: 16.

⁴ Ulloa, "*Commentari*," &c. Venice. 1570. pp. 33-34.

Telling the story soon afterwards, and holding up the fate of Egmont as a warning to others "to be careful not to incur such risks if they wish not to rush headlong to destruction"—Alfonso Ulloa describes Egmont's execution, and that of Count Horne:

"There were 20 Spanish Ensigns to guard the Count; and when the sentence had been carried out, his body was dragged to one side and covered with a black cloth. Afterwards the Count Horne mounted the scaffold, . . . and he having talked somewhat with the people, asked the forgiveness of all, and that they would pray to God for him.

"He knelt, having first thrown off his cloak, and remained in his hose, with a silk shirt. Putting his cap over his eyes, and clasping his hands together he awaited the blow of the executioner."

(Whereas in England even personages of the highest rank were required to prostrate themselves and put their heads on a block, noble birth abroad carried with it the privilege of being executed with a sword, and standing.)

The heads of the two victims, whom Protestants honoured as martyrs and Catholics execrated as rebels, were exposed on high pillars. Egmont's body was embalmed and put in a leaden coffin, and taken to one of his own estates; as also was that of Horne. On hearing that Egmont's arms were displayed "at the door of his palace" the Duke of Alba ordered them to be removed.¹ (This has been criticised as extreme harshness; but was technically correct: sentence for high treason carrying with it the deprivation of armorial insignia.)

"The Count of Egmont left eight sons and three daughters: who dwell in great poverty," wrote Ulloa; "for whom the Catholic King gave an honest provision, so that they could all live together with their mother."

"So great was the love of the people" for Egmont's memory, "and so acute the grief for his death, that many ran to the Church of Santa Chiara where the body was, and with tears they kissed his tomb as if it were a relic, praying to God for his soul."²

Ulloa adds that the executions of Egmont and Horne "*displeased all*"; and that Spaniards themselves wept in compassion,—"*even the same Duke who had condemned them.*"

Whatsoever the Duke may have felt of personal regret, he afterwards defended the sentence in his most uncompromising fashion: declaring that if treason is attempted, to have mercy on the offenders is a dangerous and destructive form of weakness. The King's "duty as the supreme fount of justice" was to prevent any organised combination against the State. Moreover nobody high or low should countenance such crimes against the State as, if committed against a private individual, would not be allowed to go unpunished.³

¹ Ib: ² Ib: p. 39.

³ The Duke to the Emperor, in German. Dated from Herzogbusch (Bois-le-Duc) 20 Aug: 1568. Copy. 14 pp. Hatfield MS. Cal: Vol. I. (1883) pp. 359-361.

What the Duke called a crime had appeared to Egmont himself a just and courageous line of action; and many a time in the ensuing years the Dutch and English Protestants were to invoke his memory. Sir William Cecil kept a portrait of him in his study; considerably to the displeasure of the Spanish Ambassador; and Lord Leicester had at Kenilworth "*Two pictures of the Counte Egmont with curtains,*" and "*The picture of Count Horne, with a curtaine.*" But he also had "*The picture of the Duke of Alba with a Curtaine. The picture of the Cardinall Granvill with a Curtaine. The picture of the Dutchess of Parma with a curtaine.*"

On the 20th of July 1568, the Prince of Orange, in answer to further denunciations, issued a second protest; which was translated into various tongues. That Queen Elizabeth permitted "*A Declaration . . . of the most worthy Prince of Orange, contaynyng the cause of his necessary defence against the Duke of Alba*" to be printed in London showed which way her sympathies inclined.

The present favourite antithesis between the Monarchy of the Spaniards and the Republicanism of the Dutch is misleading; for the words of William of Orange in 1568 are in no way Republican; and even thirteen years later, in the Declaration of 1581, in which the United Provinces were to specify their reasons for renouncing at last all allegiance to Spain, the explanation was so worded as to leave the principle of Monarchy untouched. The defiance is not of Kings in general but of King Philip in particular: one of the reiterated complaints being that instead of coming in person in 1567 to enquire into their griefs, he had sent the Duke of Alba.² King Philip in this had acted upon Machiavelli's axiom that when a Sovereign intends harsh and unpopular measures, he should have them executed by a deputy; though all acts of grace and clemency should be performed in his own person.

The Duke's willingness to draw upon himself the detestation which would otherwise have been concentrated on the King, was soon put to the test; for "the unreasonable and horryble practises, . . . of the Duke of Alba . . . confiscations . . . and withholding of our cou(n)try, subjects, and goods, . . . and injuries offered unto our person" were the theme of Prince William's Declaration of the 20th July. Far from casting off the Monarchy, he claimed that his own actions tended to "the honor of God, . . . *the profit of his Majesty, countrey and subjects, and likewise of the Emperial Majesty our soueraigne Lord and his well beloved sonne. . .*"

Protesting against the arbitrary rule and "fury" of "the Duke of Alba and his adherents," the Prince stated "the unavoydable occasions" by which he had been obliged "to take in hand this our defence: *principally to put away all suspicion of rebellion, which we have . . . mortally hated. . .*"

Retrospectively, we are apt to think of Prince William as hurling defiance at Spain from the first. But this is to confound his earlier with his later

¹ Inventory, 1583. Penshurst MSS. And same pictures in Inventory of 1588, Notes and Queries, 3rd ser.: (1862.)

² In extenso, Lord Somers *Tracts*. ed: 1809. Vol. I. pp. 325-326.

Declarations. In 1581 he was to issue a stinging indictment of King Philip. Attacking not merely his actions and his Grandees, but also their pedigrees, he was to accuse them of being half oriental by race as well as disposition. These challenges were met the following year by an attempt to assassinate the challenger. But in 1568, thirteen years previously, the Prince still hoped to bring King Philip to modify the Inquisition, and to allow the Dutch Provinces to be ruled by Dutchmen. To Cardinal de Granvell he ascribes "the diminishing of the honor of God, the authority of the kinge, and the weale of the Commons. . ." His main protest relates to "the intolerable Inquisition," and the deaf ear turned to the "humble sute" of the Dutch to be relieved. He denounces those who have

"thrust in the sayd Inquisition into this low country" and have "proceeded against" such "faithfull people as desire to live according to the pure doctrine of the Gospell." Confiscation of their goods had ensued; or banishment, tortures, and imprisonments. And these distresses had increased "since the unhappy entry of the Duke of Alba. . . ."

The Prince complains of the conduct of the Spanish soldiers, which he considers contrary to the "promises" made between King Philip and those of the Low Country:

"yea against the very oathe that his Majesty sware . . . whereby we may see . . . that the Duke of Alba abuseth the charge he hath obtained," to the damage of the King's reputation and the destruction of his subjects: "*no dout against the kings will, who (according to his accustomed clemency and gentlenesse) never intended any such thing. . . .*"

On the contrary, King Philip's determination to repress heresy was typified by his notorious assertion that if his own son were to turn heretic, he would light a fire to burn him.¹ Appeals for modification of the Inquisition were in vain; whether from converted Moors of Granada, or Dutchmen in Flanders.

It was not upon Philip II, but on his Viceroy and General the Duke of Alba that there fell the indignation increasingly aroused by the execution of notable and "good men, as well by fire, sword and other horrible meanes. . ." The illusory notion that King Philip would have been merciful had he come in person to the Low Countries was part of the then almost universal respect for Monarchs. Moreover it had been hoped by the Protestants that he might be bribed or propitiated to give them leave (as they expressed it) "to preache the worde of God, and exercise the same according to the writing of the Prophetes and Apostles." To this end the Northern Dutch offered "to his Majesty three millions of florins"; but in vain. Prince William reiterated that he "desired nothing so much" as to see the royal authority maintained. He had been wrongfully accused of attempting to be superior to "the kinges Majestie of Spain"; and on this unjust accusation he had been deprived of "country and subjects, goods moveable and unmoveable."

"And it is marvelous with what boldnes our adversaries" allege that we have attempted "anything against the . . . kinges Majestie and gone about to take possession of his country, when . . . the contrarie is manifest, by our wylling resignation of our charge . . . of the countries of Holland, Seland and Utrecht, . . . the geving over of the principall Townes in

¹ "*Gen: Hist: of Spaine.*" 1586. With Continuation by E(dward) G(rimeston). London, 1612. Lib: 31.

those partes; and to avoyde al suspition . . . we went not secretly away into Germany, but publickly. . . ."

Nevertheless his adversaries had taken from Louvain "our welbelovéd sonne, the Earle of Bueren . . . with intent to carry hym into Spaine. . . . Besides . . . the Duke of Alba, not lo(n)g since . . . hath taken and cruelly put to death above three score Gentleme(n) and Noblemen, with other notable . . . personages . . . of Bruxelles . . . whose goods he hath confiscate, . . . whereby it is to be presumed that he goeth about to destroy and deface all the nobilitie, yea the Egle itself."

The executions of the "Earles of Egmont and of Horne" are condemned as being without the accustomed forms of trial.¹ The arrest of 200 persons soon afterwards is ascribed solely to the "tyranny . . . and fury of the Duke of Alba" which "hath driven all men to such feare that now of late an infinite number are fled away . . ."²

Finally "we pretend none other thyng, but only the increasing of the glory of God, the bringing in again of his word, and the advancement of the same, and that his Majesty with his . . . subjects may be brought to the first estate: . . . that having removed the great tyranny of the Duke of Alba, . . . and delivered the Countrey from foraigne souldiers, they may be governed according to their priviledges . . . contracts . . . and statutes. . . ."³

If we read this without knowing that there had already been passages of arms between the Prince and the Duke, we would fail to see how bold was the Prince's defiance.

A description of the riots in Antwerp, and their consequences, was added by Captain Thomas Churchyard in translating Van Meteren's History.⁴ Though responding to the Dutch Protestants who, when they came to his lodging in Antwerp, "burst open his doore, commanding him in all haste to come out and take charge of those that would fight for the Gospell,"—and though sympathising with the Prince of Orange, as "warlike and wise,"—Churchyard's admiration for "*the Duke of Alua, a great noble soldier*,"⁵ is remarkable. Though blaming him for "crueltie" in the capture of the Prince of Orange's son,⁶ he calls him "*a politike souldier and great governour*,"⁷ and seldom refers to him without a respectful epithet. And Julian Romero he praises as "*a rare great soldier*," whose disposition of the troops "*in a fine warlike sort*" he warmly commends, even while describing his own championship of the other side.

Not writing to illustrate a thesis but to explain the operations, Churchyard allots praise and blame with scrupulous precision; and does not hesitate to tell of strange happenings. Having touched upon "a great mutinie between the Almaines and Burgonians," and describing the Prince's transportation of his army of

¹ The portrait of the Duke by Key, at the beginning of this section is the one concerning which there still exists what was called in Spain the "improbable legend" (*inverosmil leyenda*) that the painter died of horror at hearing the Duke give orders in Spanish for the executions of Egmont and Horne. For the case from the Spanish side, see "*Discurso*," etc. of the present Duke of Berwick and Alba, to the Royal Academy of History, Madrid, 1919, pp. 82-86.

² B.j. with further description of "hys tyranny." ³ B. ij.

⁴ "*The originall Ciuill Warres in the Netherlands under the Duchesse of Parma*," p. 4-15 in Churchyard's "*True Discourse*," 1602; pp. 1-4 being from Van Meteren, and then the narrative "Written from page 5 (to 15) . . . by Thomas Churchyard."

⁵ p. 7. ⁶ p. 12. ⁷ p. 10. ⁸ p. 13.

22,000 Foot and 13,000 Horse in boats across the Rhine, near Andernach, and his marching to Aix, he relates how

"the Armie encountered, anon after, the Duke of Alvaes souldiers, horsemen, some valiant of minde, and some by sorcerie with words and characters in their doublets more mad than manly." These last, "hoping in sorcerie, ventured too farre, and could not be killed with shot. A desperate royster! beholding the boldness of these enchanted persons against shot, drew his sword and stroke one of these men on the face, who quickly yielded himself (as after his fellows did) to the mercie of the sword. The matter . . . by Marshall law disputed, the enchanted men were all condemned to be hanged, because against the law of Arms they had used unchristian and unlawfull means to . . . shed Christian blood."²

The sympathies of the majority of the English nation were as warmly with the Prince of Orange as the feelings of Queen Mary of Scots were against him. That in London his Declaration was printed in English instead of Latin shows it to have been meant by Queen Elizabeth for popular reading. But the same actions appeared differently to King Philip's allies and partisans. At Rome it was apparently forgiven that the Duke of Alba some twelve years previously had held Pope Paul IV his prisoner. His victories over "the heretics in Flanders" were the theme of special congratulations from Pope Pius V, in August 1568, the month after the Prince's Declaration.³ And at Venice, Alfonso Ulloa was soon to publish his *Commentaries* upon the skill with which the General of the Most Catholic King had carried on the war against the rebellious "*Principe di Oranges*."⁴

¹ German Cavalryman.

² Ib. p. 11. We will find in Ireland more than twenty years later, a similar belief in "enchantments"; the offenders and victims incurring the combined wrath and scorn of English officers. That old soldiers in the Netherlands could thus conduct themselves in the Army of the Duke of Alba is more remarkable; and as the enchanter's spell was only against shot, and not against the sword, it might be supposed the men had been punished enough. But their condemnation to death by Prince William's Court Martial was for violation of the mediaeval code of honour; which permitted to soldiers the use of every sort of stratagem that could be originated in the human brain; but forbade any appeal to invisible powers, other than prayers to God, and to the saints and angels.

³ "Breve de Pio V acerca de las procesiones que habian de celebrarse en Roma en acción de gracias de la victoria alcanzada por el Duque de Alba en Flandes Contra los herejes." 16 de Agosto, 1568. "Catálogo de las Colecciones expuestas en las vitrinas del Palacio de Liria." 1898. p. 150. No. 170.

⁴ *Commentari del Sig. Alfonso VLLOA della Guerra, che il sig. Don Fernando Alvarez di Toledo Duca d'Alva, Et Capitano Generale del Serenissimo Re Catolico ha fatta contra Guglielmo di Nansau [sic] Principe di Oranges . . . L'anno MDLXVIII . . . etc. etc. "Con Privilegio. In Venetia." "Appresso Bologhino Zaltieri, MDLXX." (Dedication dated 10 July 1569.) B.M. Nos. 1060.h.3(3); and 158.2(1). Sir Wm. Cecil, in a bound vol. of *Tracts* now at Hatfield House (14115.vi.v) included a copy of Ulloa's "*Commentari*," but seems not to have possessed it when first issued, as it is inscribed in another hand "Agosto 1593. Pretio XV^d. W. Slingsbee." Possibly Sir Wm. Slingsby.*

Ulloa translated into Spanish the "*Dialogo de las empresas militares de Paulo Jovio*," Venice, 1558; and directed the editing of the "*Question de amor de dos enamorados*," Venice 1553. His life of the Emperor Charles V went into several editions, one of which appeared two years before his eulogy of the Duke of Alba: "*Vita dell' invittissimo e sacratissimo Imperator Carlo V. Descritta dal S. Alfonso ulloa, & da lui medesimo in questa Terza impressione illustrata. Con la giunta di molte cose utili all' historia, che nelle altre impressioni mancarono. Nella quale uengono comprese le cose piu notabili occorse al suo Tempo: cominciando dall' anno MD. insino al MDLX. Con una copiosissima tauola delle cose principali, che nella opera si contengono. Al Potentissimo, & Christianissimo Principe Filippo Secondo Re di Spagna, etc. Con Priuilegio dell' Illustrissimo Senato Veneto. In Venetia, Apresso Vincenzo Valgrisis, MDLXVI.*" The dedicatory epistle to Philip II, "*Re di Spagna, delle Indie, Isole e Terra ferma del Mare Oceano, Delle due Sicilie, de Gierusalem, etc.*" is dated "*In Venetia il di primo de Giugno, MDLXV*," (4to. pp. 347, and prelims and Tavola.) This was reissued in 1575 by Aldus: "*In Venetia, Dalla Bottega d'Aldo. MDLXXV.*"

In Rome the Prince's revolt seemed the more astonishing because he had erstwhile enjoyed the favour of the Emperor and the King. The first part of the "*Commentari*" relates to the Duke's administrative measures as General and Governor; the second to his dispute with Queen Elizabeth as to the arrest of certain of King Philip's ships and subjects. In the spring and summer of 1568 letters passed betwixt the Duke and the Queen in relation to wrongs wrought upon Spanish subjects by an English "*corsario*," and upon English merchants in the Netherlands by the Duke's command. Queen Elizabeth objected to the Spanish Ambassador's language as discourteous. She could not make that complaint against the Duke. His letter, 6th April 1568, not hitherto published, gives gracious thanks to her "very high very excellent and very powerful" Majesty for having instructed the Admiralty to punish the "*corsario*" against whom he had complained. But his men who were plundered had not yet received restitution of "what justly belongs to them." Appealing to the Queen in the name of "right and reason" he relied on her to act according to the "mutual friendship" between herself and the Most Catholic King: and see justice done: "a work worthy of your Majesty."

She in turn from Greenwich, 13th June, 1568, invoked the "mutual friendship" between herself and King Philip; and expressed her conviction that her "good brother" could not wish any of her subjects to be arrested. She claimed that she has always shown favour to Spaniards when they came to England; and she requested that the Duke, in virtue of his authority from King Philip, should immediately release her merchants taken prisoner in the Netherlands; and put them back into their "first estate," in which they could conduct their business without vexation either to their persons or goods.² This dispute was to continue into the following year, and to lead to Her Majesty's erstwhile famous but now forgotten Proclamation against Pirates.

Every consideration, political and theological, prompted Queen Elizabeth to wish success to the Prince of Orange, and defeat to the Duke of Alba. Ulloa's Commentaries upon King Philip's Captain-General were soon to be translated into French and Spanish.³ But not until the present moment does a word of them appear to have been rendered into English. He begins that facts about illustrious men should be preserved for "remembrance and example"; especially for the use of "valorous youths," who from the reading of history may learn how "to win renown and an immortal name."⁴ If even statues of the great can awaken "lively

¹ Orig: (French) S.P.F. Eliz: XCVII. No. 1683. App. p. 19.

² Orig: Palacio de Liria MS. App: p. 20.

³ Translated by Ulloa himself into Spanish: "*Commentarios . . . del S.A. de V. della guerra, que el illustriss . . . Principe don Hernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duque de Alva . . . he hecha contra Guillermo de Nansau, Principe de Oranges Y otros rebeldes . . . Venetia. 1569.*" 4to. Dedic: dated 1 Oct: 1569. B.M. 9405.c.c.5; and 1060.4.3(1). And by F. de Belleforest into French: "*Commentaire premier du seig. A.D.U. contenant le voyage du Duc d'Albe en Flandres, . . . Anvers, 1570.*" B.M. 1192.i.2.

⁴ Dedic: epistle to "the Illustrious Signor Julio Capra, Doctor and Knight."

recollection of their deeds," and inspire "noble and exalted thoughts,"—and if, "as Scipio the Younger said," it was "pictures of the past" which moved him to his own undertakings in the public service, should not "live writings," reaching the mind, have stronger potency than monuments appealing only through the eye? "*Bronzes, statues and paintings show the outer image; not the inward soul. But writings reveal the discourses, counsels, and works of eminent men, . . .*" and from such are "*born within us that affection we bear to heroes we have never seen.*" In this spirit Ulloa presented his narrative of "that which the Signor Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duca d'Alua has achieved in Flanders this last year against the rebels."

"I have briefly described . . . the most notable things that have happened, with memorable facts about that great Spanish General, in order that in every company they may realise his worth (and know) that *there has never been seen in this present age nor ever in the past any foreign Captain who with so few men of his own nation, or so far from his own country, . . . has obtained or carried out that which the Signor Duca d'Alua with his own valour has accomplished: Who in the space of six months has quieted the States of Flanders* (which had rebelled and risen in arms). . . ."

From Cambrai, on the 22nd of November the Duke reported to the Council at Brussels that he had driven "the rebels" out of the country; that their losses had been more than eight thousand men; and that they had accomplished nothing of consequence, except outrages on Catholic churches. His system, he states, has been to reduce his opponents by famine; and only to fight them under favourable circumstances, thus saving the King's army in readiness to serve anew, if or when necessary.¹ But "the rebels," strong in their own robust patriotism, were soon to rally anew, even against the General renowned as surpassing in ability "all Spaniards of his time."²

¹ Copy. 2 pp. Epit: Cal: S.P.D. Eliz: Vol. 9. Foreign Addenda: No. 2267. p. 600.

² For vital correspondence to and from the *Gran Duque*, and a *Relacion de los servicios del Duque de Alba*, incomplete,) see "*Documentos Escogidos Del Archivo de la Casa de Alba*," published by the Duchess of Berwick and Alba, Madrid, 1891. These MSS include letters annotated by King Philip II, and many communications from Don John of Austria, 1571-1578; and a piece of music by Pierre de Hotz, "*Heroicum panegiricum . . . Ducis ab Alba*" (pp. 517-529). See also "*Campañas del Duque de Alba, Estudios historico-militares*," by F. Martin Arrue, Toledo, 1880, 2 vols.; and J. Gomez Arceche "*Campañas del Duque de Alba*," Bol: "*Academia de la Historia*," Madrid, 1884. But in English there are no adequate studies available of his career.

In "*Documentos Escogidos . . . de la Casa de Alba*," (pp. 392-393), there was first published in 1891 a letter dated "5 d'Oct. 1568" (docketed "*Cierta carta interceta de un personaje*"), in which the writer who wishes to "*cercer moyen de faire tuer le dict duc Dalue*," assures some potential assassin that if the tyrant can be disposed of, "*Monseigneur le Prince vous donnera pour votre recompense une rente de mille escus dor par an pour vous et pour vos heritiers*," etc. This has been much commented upon in Holland, especially by the late Professor Blok and by Professor van Schelven; in *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis*, VIth Series, volumes IV, V. A facsimile of the MS was adjoined to the article of Professor Blok. As the MS is anonymous, and neither Dutch nor Spanish scholars can decide who is the writer, it is not necessary to be quoted in the present work, where Prince William's own published words of 1568 sufficiently define his feelings. It is unlikely that he would have countenanced assassination; his method was to fight openly; but the misuse of his name by subordinates might happen in the same way that the name of Marv Queen of Scots was used without her knowledge by persons intending the assassination of Queen Elizabeth (Vol. V).

APPENDIX.

"WORTHY OF YOUR MAJESTY:"

*Unpublished letter of D. Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba
to Queen Elizabeth. 6th April, 1568;
with her letter to him. 13 June, 1568.*

In the same year as Count Egmont and Count Horne were executed, and the Prince of Orange published his *Declaration*, a correspondence was going on between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Alba in connection with the plundering of King Philip's subjects by an English pirate.

A letter of "*La Reyna Isabel de Inglaterra, 13 de Junio de 1568*," to the Duque, was reproduced in 1898 as one of the illustrations to the *Catálogo* of the Palacio de Liria MSS; but the letter of the Duke to the Queen the previous April seems not hitherto to have been printed.

So much modern English error has been circulated about Hawkins and Drake as "pirates," that it will be useful to see what happened to actual pirates, whom it was the business of the High Court of the Admiralty to punish. The Duke wrote:

"*Treshaulte Tresexcellente et Trespuissante princesse.*"¹

"Je me Recommande bien hu(m)blement en la bonne grace de vre Ma^{te} aduertissant Icelle comme Jehan de Cuellar Diego de Chauary, Jacques Lauocanti, Gilles hofman Charles escora, Gerard Voel et aultres leurs consors tous subiects du Roy mon maistre tant de la nation despaigne que de celle de ces pays de pardeca mont plainctiuelement remonstre que sestans trouuez grandement endommagez par les robberies et pilleries que de leurs biens et marshandises auoit faict le Corsaire Eduard Chuck d'Anton en vre Royaulme d'Angleterre. Ils auont long temps et par grands trauaulx et despens faict et faict fe les diligences requises pour la recuperation de leurs biens et denrees question de grande valeur. Et combien que par Intercession de Lambassadeur de sa Ma^{te} Catholique resident pres la vre, Icelle auoit ordonne que aux dictz supplians Justice fust administree par ceulx de l'admiralite de vre Ma^{te} et que ledict Corsaire ait effectuellement este mene prisonnier dors Irlande en lad' ville d'Anton toutes fois que Jusques oires, quelques Instances que pour ce ayent este faictes de leur part, Ils nauoient sceu obtenir Justice, et que ledy Corsaire fust mene pardeuant les Juges de lad^{te} admiralite a Londres, a fin que lon sinformast et procedast contre luy comme le droict le veult, et ses delicts le meritoient a leur tresgrand Interest, domaige et perte Irreparables, me requerans et prians partant den vouloir escripire a vre Ma^{te}, en quoy Je nay peu leur defaillir pour estre (comme dict est) tous subiects due Sr Roy mon M^e ausquels (pour la charge quil a pleu a sa Ma^{te} me donner en cesdz pays,) Je dois toute ayde assistance et faueur en ce quest de droict et raison comme est ceste leur poursuyte, que me faict prier, comme Je prie bien Instantment, vre Ma^{te}, quelle veuille donner ordre et commander que auez supplians endroict leur^e poursuyte soit faicte et administree bonne et briefe Justice et procede en cest affaire en telle et si prompte expedition, quilz puissent recouvrer et auoir raison de ce que se trouuera leur Justement appartenir et estre deu En quoy oultre que ce sera oeuvre digne de vre Ma^{te} Icelle fera ce que et la raison et equite dictent, et les mutueles amitie, commerce et negociation requierent. Ainsy que lad^{te} ambassadeur le dira bien amplement a vre Ma^{te} de ma part et luy en requerra encoires plus Instantment que Je ne fais par ceste lre, Laquelle Je voy finir en priant le Createur donner Treshaulte Tresexcellente et Trespuissante Princesse a vre Ma^{te} lentier de ses haults et vertuelx desirs.

"De Bruxelles le vj^{mo} Jour d'Apuril auant pasques."

(Holograph) De vre Ma^{te}

Bien humble seruiteur

Ff. LE DUC DE ALUA.

¹ Orig: S.P. Foreign. 1568. Addressed "*A Treshaulte tresexcellente et Trespuissante Princesse La Royne dong(leter)re de france Eces*" (sic). Endorsed in a contemporary hand, "6 April, 1568," "The D. of Alua to the Q. Ma^{ty} for Jo. Cuellar and others." (Wafer seal). Now first published (original spelling).

There is not in the Record Office any draft of an answer to this; but the only letter of Queen Elizabeth to the Duke in possession of the present (17th) Duke of Alba, is of this same year 1568, "*le xiiij de Juing*," and is in the nature of a countercharge.¹

Trescher et tresame Cousin Noz subiects Randal Starkey et George kightley marchans trafficquans en Iceulx pays bas Nous ont remostre comme depuis nagueres en la ville de Berghen sur le Soom, auquel lieu par le passe Ils ont faict le^r residence, certains Commis par vous a ce deputez ont faict Inuentaie de tous leur biens meubles et immeubles adjournans aussi eulx et le^r femmes a comparoir deuant vous ou voz Commis le xvj Jour de ce pnt Mois de Juing. A quelle occa(sion) cela a este faict ne scauons, ny encores voulons Juger que cela soit procede directement par vre commandem^t, ne croyons que l'intention de nre bon frere le Roy vre Mre est de vser de telle rige^r sur les biens de noz Subiectz, ne de tel commandem^t sur leur personnes estans par deca sinon en cas de cause ceuile, cognoissant que telle facon de faire n'est de petite Importance tant po le regard de nre mutuelle amitie comme des traictez de l'entrecours de noz pays et subiectz, lesquelz estimons et prouons pour reciproques: Mais si lon a voulu ainsi fe(re) pretendand cause de religion: quand Il vous soubuiendra de quele doulce^r nous vsons incessamment enuers les subiectz de nredz bon frere ausquelz pouuons faire proceder par mesme raison que lon pretend sur les nres par dela si lamitie et autres bons respectz dignes de Princes voisins desirans viure en paix ne nous le defendoit, nous croyons que ne trouuerez bonne telle procedure contre noz subiectz sans premier nous aduertir des occasions Sur quoy auons bien voulu escrire ce mot de lre et par mesme moyen vous prier vouloir Incontinent donner ordre que les biens de nosdz marchans soient remiz en le^r premier estat, et nosdz subiectz permiz d'en Jouyr paisiblement sans aucun destourbur ou vexacion tant en leur personnes qu autremet, ainsi q. lad^e amitie, traicte de l'entrecours et la faue^r et liberte que les subiects de nredz bon frere Jouissent par de ca, le requient. Ne doubtons que quoy quil vous semblera bon par l'autorite que aurez receu de nredz bon frere, d'ordonner sur ses subiectz ausdz pays bas, ne vouldrez auoir bon regard, que par ce les nres ne soyent autremet touchez ou inquietez que ledz traicte le pourra porter Et ainsi prions le Create^r trescher et tresame Cousin vous auoir en sa sainte garde.

Esript en nre Maison de Grenewich le xiiij^e Jour de Juing 1568.

Vostre bone Cousine

ELIZABETH R.

¹ Not holograph. Signed "*Vostre bone Cousine Elizabeth R.*" Facsimile, Lámina XV, "*Catálogo de las Colecciones . . . del Palacio de Liria. Le Publica La Duquesa de Berwick y de Alba, Condesa de Siruela*," Madrid, 1898. Previously published in "*Documentos Escogidos . . . de la Casa de Alba*," 1891, pp. 194-195. Now transcribed by permission from the facsimile.

PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION 2.

“We might be reformed by strangers.”

(The Northern Rising, November, 1569).

“Assure yourself that what he says to you is as if all the Nobility of the Country had promised it . . . let me hear the reply by the Ambassador of the King my good brother”

Mary Queen of Scots to the Duke of Alba.

Chatsworth, 18th August. (Palacio de Liria MSS. overleaf).

“We Thomas Earl of Northumberland and Charles Earl of Westmorland, the Queen’s true and faithful subjects, To all the same of the old Catholic Religion . . . forasmuch as divers disordered and evil persons . . . have . . . overcome . . . the true and Catholick Religion . . . we therefore have gathered ourselves together to resist by Force . . . to see redress of these things . . . lest if we should not do it ourselves, we might be reformed by Strangers . . .”

1st Declaration of the Northern Earls, 1569 (p. 28).

“ . . . they got as considerable Numbers with them as they could . . . and so they entered into an . . . Rebellion . . . invaded House and Churches, published Proclamations in their own Names . . . threatening the People that if they could not achieve their purpose, then Strangers would enter the realm to finish the same. Yet they declared they meant no Hurt to her Majesty.”

Royal Proclamation: Windsor, 24 November, 1569 (p. 32).

“ . . . you shall also swear . . . that the Queen’s Highness is the only supreme Governor of this Realm . . . as well in all Spiritual and Ecclesiastical things . . . as temporal . . .”

Oath administered to repentant insurgents, 1570 (p. 33).

Queen Mary of Scots' reassurance to the Duke of Alba.

Of three letters of the Queen of Scots, "*A'Monsieur mon Cousin, monsieur le Ducq d'alue,*" published in 1891 in "*Documentos Escogidos Del Archivo de la Casa de Alba,*" (pp. 192-194) the date of the first has been printed "1565." But as the letter is from Chatsworth, and the Queen of Scots did not come into England until 1568, the fourth figure cannot be 5 and is likely to be 9.¹ In 1569 the English Catholic rebellion, on behalf of the Scottish Queen, was planned in expectation of Spanish aid. The Duke of Alba was the General whom Queen Mary hoped might command the army of invasion. Read in the light of that fact, her words become much more significant:—

"Mon cousin: ayant resceu aduertissement de mon pays que lung des prinsipauls catoliques et premier maystre d'hostel de ma mayson vous est enuoyay par mes fidelles subiects, et ceulx de mon conseil, auuesques amples directions, ie n'ay voulu fayllir vous avertir que cest ung homme de bien et de bon lieu, et au quel vous pourres donner credit comme amoy mesmes, et vous assurer de ce quil vous dira comme si toute la noblesse du pays vous louoit promis: ie ne vous diray autre chose pour la creinte du portaisage de la presante, sinon vous prier men fayre entendre la responce par lambassadeur du roy monsieur mon bon frere, et de ce qu'il vous aduertira de ma part, au quel me remetant, et á celui qui doit vous aller trouuer, ie finiray par mes affectionnées recommandations á vottre bon grace, priant dieu quil vous doynt, mon cousin, en santay longue et tres heureuse vie. De chatsuurrth ce xviii daust.

Vostre bien bonne cousine

MARIE R."

"All the nobility" of Scotland had not promised to support the enterprise; but those pledged to it in England were of such great ancestry, power, and prestige, that Queen Mary's hopes of success, with the help of Spain, appeared to rest on a substantial foundation.

¹ As "*Elizabethan England*" is passing through the press, the Duke of Berwick and Alba has caused the letters of his ancestress Queen Mary to be re-examined, by his librarian, Señor Paz, late of the Biblioteca Nacional; who states that "there are no dates of year on the original MSS.," and that "the years given in print for the Scottish Queen's three letters are conjectural only." The date 1565, query 69?, (p. 192 of "*Documentos,*" 1891), is therefore now deleted; but whether this appeal of the captive Queen was sent in anticipation of the Northern Rising or in relation to later plans on her behalf, it is valuable as proving her secret intercourse with Spain.

ALLEGORICAL PICTURE OF QUEEN ELIZABETH,

by Hans Eworts (or Eworth):

From the original at Hampton Court Palace.

By gracious permission of His Majesty the King.

*Signed with the artist's monogram, and dated 1569,
this was painted when the Queen was thirty-six years of age.*

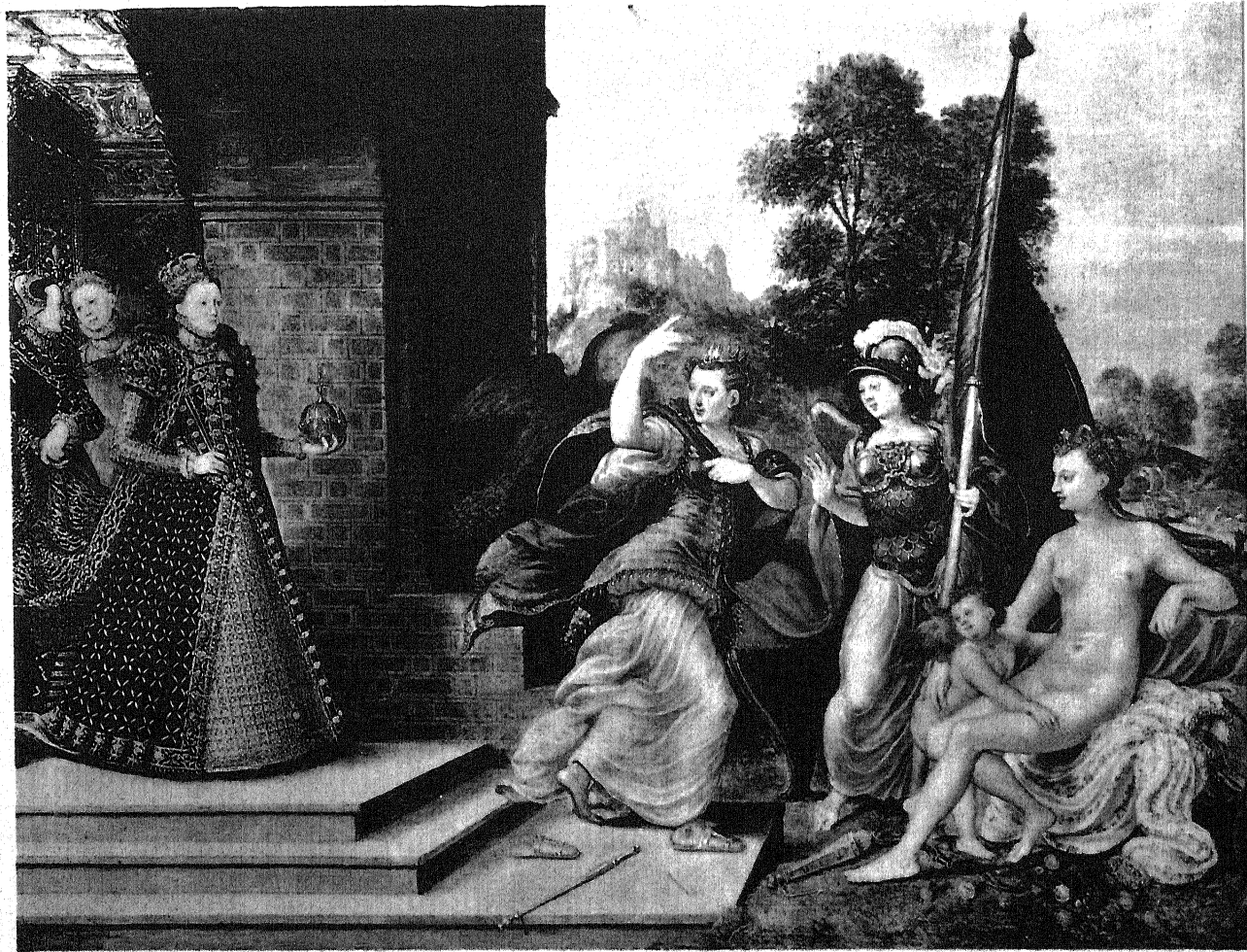
On the contemporary frame is an inscription:

*"Juno potens sceptris et mentis acumine Pallas;
Et roseo Veneris fulget in ore decus;
Adfuit Elizabeth, Juno perculsa refugit,
Obstupuit Pallas erubuitque Venus."*

Though the artist may be held responsible for the assertion that Her Majesty's sceptre was more potent than Juno's, and her wisdom greater than that of Pallas, and that as soon as she appeared even Venus blushed at being eclipsed, that the Queen permitted any such methods of address is significant.

It is the fashion to accuse the Stuart Dynasty of having "invented the Divine Right of Kings"; but no Stuart Monarch ever expected such personal adulation as Queen Elizabeth encouraged; and it should be noticed that the flattery of the Court Painter in 1569 is addressed yet more to the woman than to the Queen. Though this picture is now inset in its chronological place, the ultimate effects upon her character of keeping such a composition in one of her principal palaces will become most manifest towards the end of the present work.

Photograph: Walter L. Bourke, Maidenhead, Berks.



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF MONCONTOUR: 1569.

*Now first published from the original
in the collection of the Duke of Berwick and Alba,
at the Palacio de Liria, Madrid.*

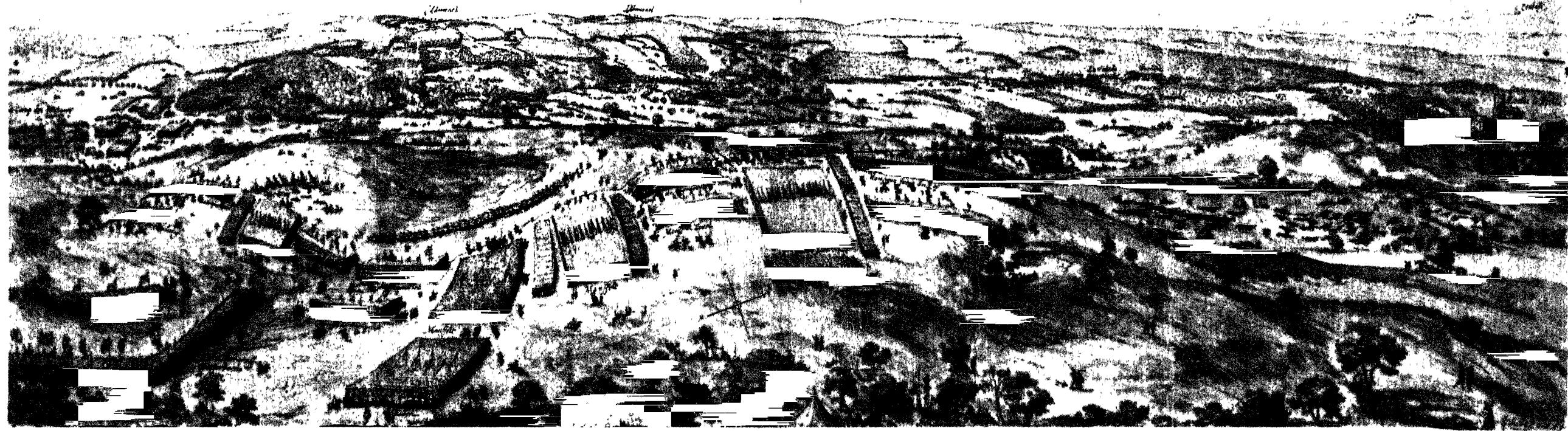
Docketed "*Schille fecit, 1569*," this is believed to have been sent to the 3rd Duke of Alba ("the Great Duke") by Count Mansfelt: who, on the 3rd October, 1569, was in command of the Spanish troops, 2,000 Horse and 3,000 Foot. These veteran auxiliary forces turned the scale in favour of the Duke of Anjou, and enabled him to defeat the Grand Admiral, Gaspard de Coligny, Sieur de Chastillon, and the Huguenots at Moncontour. (Notice in the sketch the forces inscribed respectively "*Mansfelt*," and "*Monsieur frere du Roy*.")

Count Mansfelt (born in 1517, the same year as Coligny) was a warrior of long experience, who in his 'teens had taken part in the triumphal entry of the Emperor Charles V into Tunis (1535). He was well known to the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Leicester and other Englishmen of that generation, because he had been "*Maestre de Campo General*" of King Philip's Germans at the siege and battle of St. Quentin (1557); in which campaign Leicester, then Lord Robert Dudley, was Master of the Ordnance, under William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Lieutenant-General.

Students of English and French literature are apt to take their ideas of the battle of Moncontour not from evidence of personages mainly concerned, but from Ronsard's eloquent and misleading Ode. The "French Apollo" gives the sole glory to the Duke of Anjou; utterly ignoring the highly efficient and vigorous allies sent by the Duke of Alba. But that the victory in October had been gained with Spanish aid was one of the reasons why Charles Neville, Earl of Westmorland, and Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, K.G., at the end of November, 1569, so confidently raised the standard of rebellion on behalf of the captive Queen of Scots. When with an improvised force they took this daring measure, they not only counted upon aid from Spain, such as had been sent to France against the Huguenots, but even hoped to welcome the Duke of Alba in person.

A recent English critic who had dismissed the Northern Rising as "Falstaffian" (quoted and answered, Appendix A), cannot have considered the time, the persons, and the circumstances. If the most eminent General of his day, Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duque de Alba, had landed at Hartlepool with his veterans, the ensuing history of England might have been as different as the two Northern Earls intended and expected.

Had not the Principal Secretary of State, Sir William Cecil, acted with remarkable promptitude immediately upon the news of the rising, and had, not the English Army of the North under Thomas Ratcliffe Earl of Sussex, K.G., and the Army of the South, under Lord Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, K.G., and Edward Fiennes, Lord Clinton, Lord High Admiral, and Walter Devereux, Viscount Hereford, Marshal, been much superior in quality and discipline to what is now currently supposed, it is possible that Queen Elizabeth would have been defeated and a prisoner by Christmas. But finding her defenders well-prepared, the Spanish projected invasion was postponed to a more convenient hour. And instead of the army of Philip II conquering England and enthroning Queen Mary of Scots at Westminster, the Earl of Sussex carried the war into Scotland, with such vigour and severity that his name was long remembered and hated north of the Tweed.



THOMAS RADCLYFFE (OR RATCLIFFE), EARL OF SUSSEX, K.G.

Captain of the Gentleman Pensioners,

Lord Deputy & Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1554, 1555.

*Engraved by H. Robinson from a portrait attributed to Antonio Moro,
formerly at Foxdenton Hall, Lancashire, the old family seat of the Radclyffes.*

The original picture was shown in the 1866 Exhibition. But Major C. E. Radclyffe, who should have inherited it in his collection, is unable to discover its present whereabouts; and has now only the engraving here reproduced. This is selected in preference to the painting in the National Portrait Gallery or the one at Ettington Park, because those pictures show Sussex as apparently an older man than he was at the time of the Northern Rising.

Thomas, 3rd Earl of Sussex was twice married:—

1st as Viscount FitzWalter, circa 1552, to Lady Elizabeth Wriothesley, daughter of Thomas, 1st Earl of Southampton. By her he had two sons, Henry and Robert, who died in infancy.

Her funeral was on 16th January, 1554-5, at Woodham Walter, Sussex.

2nd, (marriage licence 26th April, 1555) Frances, daughter of Sir William Sidney, of Penshurst Place and Robertsbridge: sister of Sir Henry Sidney.

For the foundation of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, by the Countess of Sussex, in joint memory of herself and her husband, who died in 1583, see Vol. V, under date.



BERWICK ON TWEED AT THE TIME OF THE NORTHERN RISING:

Water-colour, 17 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 26 inches. Endorsed on the back "Barwick."

Drawn by Rowland Johnson, apparently for Sir William Cecil, Principal Secretary of State.

Now first published from the original at Hatfield House.

Underneath the scale is written "*This skaile ffor this plat ys maid of 240 foot to the mil R. Johnson,*" with his initials interlaced below.

The fortification of Berwick was of vital importance at this juncture; and among Cecil's papers are also 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ pp. of MS treating of the walls of Berwick, with measurements, etc., by Rowland Johnson; and a drawing of the walls, large scale, inscribed "*Sr Richard Lees Carte*": size 4 feet 1 x 3 feet. Also one by Sir Richard Lee the same size, but showing more ground to the northward. (These will be reproduced in a subsequent work by the present writer).

PART II.

"Particularly the Power of Spain."

CHAPTER I.

"TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD."

SECTION 2.

"We might be reformed by strangers."

(*The Northern Rising, 1569*).

DESPITE nominal friendship of Spain and England, the experiences of Captain Hawkins at San Juan de Ulloa,—as related by him to Sir William Cecil on his return, in January 1568-9,—had revealed the hollowness and insecurity of peace. And though the Duke of Alba wrote to Queen Elizabeth in 1568 of "*mutuels amitié, commerce et negotiation*" between herself and his Sovereign,¹ by January 1568-9, a Dutch merchant's letter from London refers to "*great talk of war between the King of Spain and this Queen*," because Her Majesty had charged the Duke of Alba with arresting the persons and confiscating the goods of Englishmen in the Netherlands.² The same month Spanish vessels were seized at Plymouth by way of reprisal.³ The Spanish Ambassador protested; and his objections were at once translated into many tongues. The gist of them has long been accessible in English.⁴ What has been neglected is the reply. Incidentally the Ambassador in writing to another Spaniard had made ironical use of phraseology out of the old romance of Amadis de Gaul. This letter, intercepted, was docketed by Secretary Cecil, "Against the Queenes Majesty Oriana."⁵ It left no doubt what were the feelings of Don Guerau Despes; and it may have sharpened the edge of the answer Cecil drafted for the Queen. Hitherto only published in brief epitome, this reply has not saved the principal Elizabethan statesman from 19th century rebukes for delighting in "negotiation for its own sake," and giving more trouble to the Queen's champions than to her foes.⁶ Actually few Privy Councillors

¹ Orig: I. 21. ante. ² Cal. S.P. F. Vol. 9. No. 9. p. 4.

³ Ib: No. 18. p. 5. Particulars endorsed by Cecil.

⁴ In Cal: (1874) pp. 8-9. Extra to copy (No. 18) in P.R.O. endorsed by Cecil, there are 4 other copies in Spanish and 4 translations.

⁵ Ib. 41. p. 11.

⁶ Corbett. 1898. Cit. later; and answered through Cecil's own correspondence.

have ever been more aware than he was that invasions are not averted but invited by meekness. And so, though the "Empire" of his Sovereign included no colonies, and her only ports were in England, Wales and Ireland, Cecil caused Her Majesty to take a tone remarkably defiant, if we remember the relative proportions of her dominions and those of King Philip.¹

After recapitulating the circumstances, the Queen protests that whereas the "pretended arrest" of certain monies in her ports is said to have given cause both to pirates to increase in insolence and to the Duke of Alba to arrest her subjects and their goods, she wishes to point out that prior to this action on the part of His Excellency she did not prevent Spanish money being conveyed to the Low Countries. The Spaniards who had charge of the money will admit that if her own officers had not defended them they would have been plundered by the French. For this service England had been ill rewarded by the imprisonment of Englishmen in Antwerp on the 29th of December last.

Furthermore although Her Majesty had not given audience herself to the Duke of Alba's envoy, she had authorised the chief members of her Council to treat with him. She invokes the envoy to testify in what "quiet and amiable sort" he was answered, and how willing she was for restitution of any goods seized by her officers; provided she could be assured of the same courtesy being accorded to her in the Low Countries and elsewhere in the Spanish King's dominions.

The peroration of the eleven-page reply is typical of Cecil.² Dexterously transforming the Queen from accused to accuser, he makes the Duke's own Proclamation the basis for complaint. The conclusion, as finally revised by him, and now first printed, runs as follows:

"And as We allow very well the intentions of every Prince or Governor that deviseth any good means to suppress piracies, so we have reasonable cause to doubt that by certain clauses of this ordinance" whether piracies will "be stayed, but rather increased . . . especially regarding the general liberty given thereby for all manner of persons to arm ships and levy soldiers and suchlike to pass the seas, without any wages appointed to them: a matter specially prohibited heretofore by the treaties continuing betwixt us and the King of Spain, and providently recognised by both our grandfathers, that is to say K(ing) H(enry) the vij and Philip Duke of Burgundy:

"And though by the ordinance it be added that such adventurers shall be bound (by their oath or otherwise) not to offend any good merchants or the Kings friends, . . . yet

¹ The dispute was much discussed on the Continent. See second part of the "*Commentari del Sig. Alfonso Villoa della Guerra che il sig. . . Duca d'Alva, . . . Insieme con le cose occorse tra la Reina d'Inghilterra, l'Ambasciatore Catolico appresso quella Maesta, & il sopra detto Duca d'intorno all'arresto fatto di alcun naui, & dari del Re Catolico ne i porti d'Inghilterra: & degli Inglesi & robbe loro in Fiandra . . . 1569 & 1570.*" (2nd ed: B.M. 1060. h.3(3).) Also in Spanish (B.M. 9405. c.c.5.) and French (B.M. 1192. i.2(2).)

² Drafted 14th April, 8½ pp. (S.P. For: Eliz: CVI. 198); and on 15th April expanded by him to 11 pp. (Ib. 199). Calendar epitome (pp. 60-62) is all that hitherto has been published. The two original (holog:) drafts have now been compared. The one cit. supra is docketed "*15 April 1569, copy of thanswer to the D of Alvas proclamation published ult^o Martij.*" It is so much corrected as to be difficult to read. Cecil's spelling now modernised.

³ the Duke's.

when all manner of persons shall thus be licensed to adventure with ships fully furnished with men and munition for the war (and having no wages whereon to live)" it may be inferred "that such adventurers must seek their maintenance by spoiling good and quiet merchants (for pirates . . . seldom assail their like): Of which matter a small time will try the intention of this ordinance and the authors, what is meant hereby and what shall ensue.

"And considering amongst other things in the same Proclamation it is commanded that no inhabitant of the said Kings Countries shall trade with any Englishmen or their agents or factors in any place, neither that any Englishmen or any others shall bring into those countries any commodity coming out of England, or that any commodities of those countries shall be brought to Englishmen in the places where they do trade, until the arrests shall be discharged . . . the like We will and command to be observed respectively . . . by all our subjects and all the inhabitants within any of our dominions, their agents or factors, towards the subjects of the King of Spain, until the arrests shall be discharged, upon pain of forfeiture of the wares or the value, and . . . severe punishment according to the nature of the contempt."

Twelve days later, 27th of April, 1569, appeared the Queen's Declaration against Piracy:¹ also drafted by Cecil: *commanding all her subjects to forbear aiding pirates by buying or selling with them, or victualling any of their ships. Whosoever hereafter arms or equips any vessel for the sea except by express license of the Queen, is to be obliged to notify it to the officers of the ports: who if there be any manner of suspicion that they are other than lawful traders or fishers shall not suffer them to sail. Moreover if the port officers herein fail in their duty they not only shall be answerable for all the piracies committed, but shall be imprisoned till the offenders are caught.*²

During (and previous to) these happenings, the Spanish Ambassador in London had been secretly plying with persuasions and promises some of the chief nobility; particularly Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, K.G. and Privy Councillor; Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, K.G., P.C.; Charles Neville, Earl of Westmorland, Henry FitzAlan, 24th Earl of Arundel, and William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; also Captain John Hawkins; all of whom he believed himself to have gained for King Philip.

His plan was that by a combination of rebellion and invasion Queen Elizabeth should be overthrown, and the Queen of Scots, as a vassal of Spain, be crowned in her place; whereon the Church of England should fall for ever.

What the Duke of Norfolk, a Protestant and an admirer of Fox's "*Actes and Monumentes*" was doing in this company, we will yet inquire. But Sir Thomas

¹ Cal: S.P. Dom. 88. p. 332.

² Although this was correctly epitomised in 1874 in the Calendar, scant attention is paid to it; and the fashion of calling Hawkins and Drake "pirates" still persists among a number of their modern admirers: Drake's and Hawkins' final expedition of 1595 being compared by Corbett, "*Drake and the Tudor Navy*," 1898, to the "pirate days" of Sir Francis! (Answered under date.) Corbett appears not to have realised that a regular and time-honoured part of the work of the Lord High Admiral of England was the suppression of piracy. Of this the Spaniards were aware (Vide the Duke of Alba to Q. Elizabeth, 6 April, 1568, ante). In the reign of Edward VI, when it was desired by the Court faction to disgrace the Lord High Admiral Thomas Lord Seymour of Sudeley, three principal charges were that he had (7) discouraged the capture of pirates; (8) allowed pirates to go free; (9) caused goods not to be restored when the Council had ordered restitution. Sir Clements Markham, "*King Edward VI*," 1907, p. 82, pointed out that had these accusations been true, their legal penalty would have been a heavy fine and to forfeit the office of Admiral.

Percy, Earl of Northumberland,—though confirmed by Queen Elizabeth in 1558 in the office of Warden of the Scottish Marches he had held under Philip and Mary (and taking therefore the new oath of allegiance,)—came of a house which in Henry VIII's time, had held to the Papacy with fearless resolution, and had suffered accordingly: his father perishing on the scaffold as one of the leaders of the "Pilgrimage of Grace."

We have seen how in May 1568 Northumberland was the first English nobleman to welcome the fugitive Scots Queen when she sought refuge over the Border. Whether he at once fell under her fascination, and from that moment inclined towards the course which led him to his death, nothing has been found to show. Though his rising is apt now to be classed as hopeless from the first, and briefly dismissed—with scorn or compassion according to the humour of the commentator,—this is to be wise after the event. Northumberland and Westmorland had assurances from Spain which made them think the prospective rebellion not only practicable but most unlikely to fail.¹ Nor need we assume it would have failed: except for the foresight, vigilance, secret knowledge and careful preparation of Sir William Cecil, the promptitude of Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex; and the fact that Queen Elizabeth's Navy patrolled the Narrow Seas.

A present popular notion that Cecil was taken by surprise in 1588 when the Spanish Armada hove in sight on the horizon is a delusion the less accountable as his memoranda upon King Philip's ambitions and intentions nineteen years earlier (1569) were printed in 1709.²

Cecil was aware that the Pope, King Philip, the King of France, and "sundry Potentates of Italy" had resolved to "employ all their Forces for the Subversion of the Professors of the Gospel,"—i.e. the Protestants,—and that they hoped to strike at England immediately after they should subdue the Prince de Condé and his associates.

"The Spaniard daily avaults, in the Low Countries, within short time to possess this Realm without any Battel"; believing that England is weak "by reason of the Lack of Experience of the Subjects in Feats of War." Also some

¹ Northumberland's subsequent information to Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland. Cal: S.P. Foreign. 1569-71. pp. 157-8.

² Pages 544-5. *"Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion. And other various Occurrences in the Church of England: During the First Twelve Years of Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign. Wherein Account is given of the Restoring of Religion from its Corruptions introduced under Queen Mary; Of filling the Sees with Protestant Bishops: Of the famous Synod assembled in the Year MDLXII. Of the Workings and Endeavours of the Papists; and of the first Appearance of the Dissention from the Church Established. Compiled faithfully out of Papers of State, Authentick Records, Publick Registers, Private Letters, and other Original Manuscripts. Together with An Appendix or Repository Containing the most important of them. By John Strype, M.A., London: Printed for John Wyat, at the Rose in St. Paul's Church Yard. MDCCIX."* Dedicated "To His Grace Thomas, . . . Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England . . ." this work was published by subscription. The standpoint from which it was compiled is defined on the title page. It remains useful for the documents printed in extenso in Appendices; but for the other point of view the student should also consult the publications of the Catholic Records Society.

"Papistical" Englishmen who had fled out of the realm, had compiled "Books in manner of Registers; accounting every Shire and great Town of the Realm . . . making their Estimate of more than the best half of Noblemen and Gentlemen to be theirs." Collections were being made secretly in England "by Procurators of the Papists, and a number of Gentlemen lately in Lancashire have foreborne to go to Church; expecting soon "to enjoy the use of the Popish religion."

This last statement is introduced by the warning that "the Danger hereof also is the Greater," because the Papists of England "if ever Power shall be in their hands" have been taught "by former Examples" not to suffer any who are contrary to them to keep any authority, "remembering that which is said in the Science Military, *Non licet bis in Bello peccare*." Cecil proposed to make good use of "those means that Almighty God hath left to this Realm"; Her Majesty is to unite all her faithful subjects; and procure aid secretly from the Prince of Condé, unless the French King's answer to her overtures is favourable. If the King refuse to allow her to be "a Moderator of Peace" between himself and the Huguenots, then will be "made apparent" the intention of the French Papists "to prosecute the Subversion of the Common Cause of Religion" (meaning the Protestant Religion).

Cecil emphasised that the Queen's Navy must be kept always ready; and he urged Her Majesty to "view the Power of the Realm" and further strengthen the defences, especially of the counties on the sea coast "towards Flanders and France"; and ally herself with the "Princes of Almain" in "Defence of Religion." (It had previously been noticed that soldiers were gathering from all parts of the realm, and that many ships were being furnished.²)

Across the Channel the trouble was increasing between King Charles and his Huguenot subjects. The offer of the Queen of England to "arbitrate" was not accepted. The arbiter was the sword. On the 3rd of October, 1569, the Huguenots were defeated on the King's behalf by Henry Duke of Anjou; and Ronsard's "*Hymne sur la Victoire à Moncontour*" pictured the crows banqueting on the corpses of heretics while their souls descended into Hell.³ But the determining factor in the battle was less the generalship of the French King's brother Henry, than the assistance sent by the Duke of Alba, under the veteran Count Mansfelt. However little we English remember him to-day, Queen Elizabeth's chief advisers were in no danger of forgetting him. Lord Leicester (as Lord Robert Dudley, Master of the Ordnance,) had known him during the St. Quentin campaign. And even as Mansfelt in 1557 had contributed signally to the defeat of Gaspard de Coligny-Chastillon, so again in 1569. Wherefore Queen Mary of Scots in her

¹ Ib: And see Hatfield Cal: Vol. I. (1883), pp. 457-458, No. 1452 Memo. Draft by Cecil, "Extract of y^e booke of y^e State of y^e Realme." 1½ pp. Haynes, p. 588, in extenso; and No. 1455. "A Short memoryall" by Cecil, 12 pp. Haynes, pp. 579-588 in extenso.

² Cal: S.P. Foreign. No. 200. p. 54.

³ "*Premier Livre des Hymnes de P. de Ronsard*."

sorrowful captivity seemed justified in hoping that the Catholic triumph at Moncontour was prelude to a similar event in England.

Anticipating such aid from Spain as that which had beaten even the renowned Coligny, the English champions of the Queen of Scots threw off their masks, and issued a Declaration:

"We Thomas Earl of Northumberland, and Charles Earl of Westmorland, the Queens true and faithful subjects, To all the same of the old Catholic Religion. . . . forasmuch as divers disordered and evil disposed Persons about the Queen's Majesty, have, by their subtil and crafty dealing to advance themselves, overcome in this our Realm the true and Catholick Religion, . . . and abused the Queen, disordered the Realm; and now lastly seek to procure the Destruction of the Nobility, We therefore have gathered ourselves together to resist by Force: and the rather by the help of God and you, good people; and to see redress of these Things amiss, with *the restoring of all ancient Customs and Liberties to God's Church, and this noble Realm: Lest if we should not do it ourselves, we might be reformed by Strangers*, to the great hazard of the State of this our country whereto we are all bound."¹

As the rising was planned with secret reliance upon Spanish assistance, the wording of this challenge was misleading.

On the 24th of November from Windsor the Queen issued a counter proclamation: setting forth that towards the end of the summer she had been informed of "Secret Whisperings in Yorkshire and Durham" as to assemblies "of leud People . . . tending to a rebellion." But no evidence had been produced, so she "little regarded" any such rumours. Her Lord President of York, the Earl of Sussex, however, wrote further to her "upon the two Earls having secret meetings with certain Persons of suspected behaviour." He had then sent for both Earls, and confronted them with these reports. Whereon, "falsely dissembling," they protested they "were ready to spend their lives against any that should break the Peace." Sussex trusted them "upon their Oaths," and gave them leave to depart; only requesting them to find out the "causes of these Bruits."

The Queen, "loth to distrust her Nobility," commanded Sussex to bid the two Earls "in her name repair unto her." But they sent "dilatatory answers"; and when he repeated the order, they "flatly" disobeyed.

The Queen had given them yet another chance; by sending

"her own private Letters of Commandment to them to repair to her presence . . . notwithstanding which they refused to come. But before the Delivery of the Queen's Letters they got as considerable Numbers with them as they could . . . and so they entered into an open . . . Rebellion . . . They invaded Houses and Churches, published Proclamations

¹ Strype (1709. op. cit. p. 546) says "Now because these Declarations are to be found in none of our Historians, . . . I shall here insert them" as they were sent up from the Dean of York to the Bishop of London; "who conveyed them to the Secretary (Cecil) among whose Papers I had them."

Both proclamations of the Earls have been since given in Cal: S.P. Dom: Addenda, 1566-79. pp. 111 and 162.

Edmond Elviden issued "*An answer to the Proclamation of the Rebels in the North*"; a small 8vo of 10 leaves. Existence unknown until a copy was offered at Mr. Bright's sale, 1845. No second copy known to Henry Huth who bought this one example (Cat: Huth Lib: 1880, Vol. II. p. 468) and reprinted it as No. XXII of "*Fugitive Tracts, written in Verse*." 1875. (B.M. 11630. e.e.14.) The verses do not give any historical detail, and are only a general denunciation of disloyal ambition on the part of the leaders of the rising.

in their own Names, to move the Queens Subjects to take their parts, . . . *threatening the People that if they could not atchieve their purposes, then Strangers would enter the Realm to finish the same. Yet they declared they meant no Hurt to her Majesty.*"

In effort to impede recruiting for the Queen, a second Proclamation had been issued by Northumberland and Westmorland, denying the "sinister and wicked Reports of sundry malicious Persons" that "the said Earls, their friends and allies," intended any harm to Her Majesty. It had been, they declared,

"faithfully and deliberately considered and devised by the Right High and Mighty Prince Thomas, Duke of Northfolk, Henry Earl of Arundel,¹ William Earl of Pembroke, together with the said Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, and divers others of the ancient Nobility of this Realm," to reform disorders and Abuses, "for the *avoiding of Bloodshed* and utter Subversion of the Commonwealth:" which redress of disorders was prevented "by *certain common Enemies of this Realm about the Queen's Person; by whose sinister and detestable Counsel and Practice, well known to us and to the rest of the Nobility, their Lives and Liberties are now endangered, and daily Devices made to apprehend our bodies.*"

Such "unjust and ambitious Policies and Practices" can only be met "by the Sword." And in this "just and godly Enterprise" the Earls

"adventure their Lives, Lands and Goods: Whereunto we heartily crave the true Aid and Assistance of all faithful favourers of the Quietness of the Commonwealth, and the ancient Nobility of the same.

"God save the Queen and the Nobility."²

But the Queen they meant to save was Mary Queen of Scots.

From Ripon (27 November) they wooed the Earl of Derby to join them; "for the great confidence we have in your Lordship's . . . care . . . of the preservation of the Queen's Majesty, and the quiet of this Commonwealth";³ and sent him their second proclamation.⁴ Derby, "judging the matter to swerve far from the duty of any good subjects," sent it to the Queen.⁵

On the 3rd of December, the Duke of Norfolk on seeing how his name had been used, denied that he had any dealings with the rebels, either for the matter of religion, he "abhorring" theirs, or as to the Succession controversy.⁶ And the Earl of Pembroke, from Wilton, protested against the "false wicked and malicious nomination of him as a favourer of their detestable treason . . ."⁷

The Queen accepted Pembroke's reassurance.⁸ But the Duke of Norfolk was imprisoned. He wrote then to Her Majesty that now seeing how "unpleasant" the matter of the Queen of Scots is to his own Sovereign he "never intends to deal further therein," and will in all things endeavour to give satisfaction.⁹ To Sir William Cecil he protested that he meant no harm, but thought that if he were

¹ Henry FitzAlan, 24th Earl, whose daughter Lady Mary had been the Duke's first wife, mother of his heir Philip Earl of Surrey.

² Strype, p. 548; and Cal: S.P.D. (add.) p. 162.

³ 27 Nov: 1569. In extenso, Haynes (1740) p. 564.

⁴ Ib: ⁵ Ib: p. 253. ⁶ Ib: p. 567.

⁷ To the Privy Council. Hatfield Cal: Vol. I. (1883) p. 449. Also to the Queen.

⁸ Ib: p. 571. ⁹ Ib:

to marry the Scottish Queen, this would prevent any Papist Prince from getting her.¹

Though he repudiated the Proclamations, he had certainly intended to profit by them. The younger of the leaders, Charles, 6th Earl of Westmorland, aged twenty-six, was his brother-in-law. Only son of Henry Neville, 5th Earl of Westmorland, (by his first wife Lady Jane Manners, daughter of Thomas, 1st Earl of Rutland,) he had succeeded to the Earldom in 1563, and married the following year.² He was trusted by Queen Elizabeth, who appointed him a Councillor for the North in 1569, shortly before he entered into Northumberland's plot.

The assertion of the insurgent Earls that "evil disposed Persons about the Queen's Majesty" had by "subtle and crafty dealing to advance themselves" sought to procure the "Destruction of the nobility" is sometimes supposed to have referred to Sir William Cecil. But Cecil had favoured old nobility in the Earl of Northumberland's person, when encouraging the Queen on her accession to confirm him in the office of Warden of the Scottish Marches, and in 1563 approving his election as a Knight of the Garter. No matter at whom the Declaration was aimed, the official retort is pungent: "The said Earls" are rebuked that "contrary to the natural property of Nobility," which is to defend the Sovereign and the peace of the realm, they—the one having wasted his patrimony and both being poorer than their ancestors,—pretend a special zeal for Nobility; and so have raised the first Rebellion in Her Majesty's reign.

Their Proclamation was in general terms, as also is the answer: "not doubting but this Admonition and knowledge given should suffice" to warn all good subjects against "the foresaid Rebels" and their seductions. It was on the 28th of November that Thomas Earl of Sussex, as Lord President of York and Lieutenant-General, issued his Proclamation, bidding the people not be deluded by the "Abuses and Delusions" of personages who were making "Religion" a cloak for disloyalty. He especially objected "that they affirmed their doings to be with the Advice and consent of the Nobility": who, on the contrary, would spend their lives resisting the present rebels, and all other traitors.

As to the Northern Earls' assertion that for conscience sake they and their following were driven to arms: "It was manifestly known," declares his Lordship, that "many of them never had Care of Conscience, or ever respected any Religion, but continued a dissolute Life; until at this present" they put on "a Popish Holiness" to colour their treasons. Their declaring that "*they were driven to take this Matter in hand, lest other foreign Princes might take it upon them*" evoked Sussex's indignation; knowing as he did that they had risen on an express expectation of help from Spain. But as England and Spain were professedly at peace, he merely denounced the intent of the Earls to bring the realm into "Subjection and Slavery" to foreign Powers; without defining which Powers.

¹ *Ib*: p. 572.

² G.E.C.'s *Complete Peerage* (1898). Vol. 8. p. 113.

The Queen's Proclamation had been in a tone of lofty scorn for any threats of ril to her Crown: no "honest persons," she considered, would associate with bels. But actually Sussex and Cecil were aware how elaborate was the plot and at the Spanish Ambassador was one of the conspirators. Not wishing to have a reign and internecine war simultaneously on hand, and discerning that the anish invasion and the rescue of Queen Mary of Scots would only take place if orthumberland and Westmorland attained a measure of success, the necessity was teach the people at home to despise the rebellion, while showing the world road that England was armed to meet all enemies whether native or invasive.

A seemingly blind eye was turned towards the machinations of the Spanish mbassador; and though Cecil knew the Duke of Alba to be the General the rebels ere hoping to welcome, the Queen feigned still to regard both King Philip and lba as her friends. While affecting ignorance of the Spanish plot, every means had en taken to prevent its success. The Army under the Earl of Sussex and Lord unsdon in the North, consisted, besides Artillery, of three squadrons of Demi- nces, one of Lances, nine of Light Horse, and thirty companies of Foot.

There was promptly put in the field also an "Army of the South," of 14,225 en, commanded by Lord Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, K.G., and Edward ennes, Lord Clinton, Lord High Admiral of England (both well known to the ing of Spain when King Consort of England;) and the Marshal was the Premier iscount of England, Walter Viscount Hereford, Lord Ferrers of Chartley; head of house renowned since the Norman Conquest. The "Rereward" was under Lord 'illoughby (of Parham).¹ The Captains, whether of Horse or Foot, were many of em "voluntary gentlemen," of ancient and honourable families: including the oward and Neville kinsfolk of the rebel leaders. When we glance at the list of ficers, with such names as Constable, Hastings, Tyrwhit, Dorrington, Dalton, linton, Lascelles, FitzWilliam, Foljambe, Molyneux, Horsey, Ratcliffe, Leighton, anners, Wingfield, and Bretherton, (to cite only a few,) we see how misleading is e oft-repeated present idea that the old territorial families were crushed by Queen lizabeth. Most of them served her again and again; and nothing could be further om reality than a recent assertion that the English Army in 1569 was "poor in mbers and zeal."²

The Proclamation of Sussex in the North was calculated as to its effect not only

App: C. p. 41.

ames A. Williamson's "*Sir John Hawkins, the Time and the Man*," 1927, answered App: A. p. 35.

It has been since stated that the Army of the South was not required or used. But see Hatfield MSS. Cal: Vol. I. (1883), p. 447, for abstract of letter of the Queen to the Earl of Warwick, 1 December, 1569. Her Majesty quotes letters of the Earl of Sussex, Lord Hunsdon, and Sir Ralph Sadleir, dated from York, 28 November, that their force in York is not strong enough to overmatch the rebels: but that Sussex states that if the Lord Admiral, being nearest to them with his force, aids them with 1000 Horse, 500 pikes, and 500 others, he, Sussex, would be able to pursue and overthrow the rebels. The same counsels had been sent to the Lord Admiral. *Warwick and the Admiral are urged by her Majesty to proceed with the Army as speedily as possible to Nottingham and thence to Doncaster, &c.* These orders were carried out; and it was not till the 26th of December that the Queen wrote condoling with the Earl of Warwick on his illness, and permitting him to depart from the North and return home, leaving the Lord High Admiral in charge.

at home but if rendered into Spanish. King Philip's General in the Netherlands being a Grandee of a proud and ancient House, Sussex expressed the more emphatically his own disdain that the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland had "*covered their naughty Intent with a Shew of Desire to preserve the State of the ancient Nobility from Destruction.*" Surely all men were aware "that in the whole twelve years past, the Queen had such a Care of preserving that State, as from the Beginning of her Reign to this Hour, there had not perished one of that Flock."

In 1569 even the most illiterate knew one coat of arms from another; and the people delighted in ballads celebrating the prowess of the houses of Percy and Neville. Many a retainer in "the Northern partes" had marched into the field less because he hated Queen Elizabeth than because he was attached to his Lord. Had it not been for the hereditary prestige of Sir Thomas Percy, 7th Earl of Northumberland, and Charles Neville, 6th Earl of Westmorland, we may doubt if the people would have risen at all.

Sussex did not fail to point out in his Proclamation that the very peers who were accusing the Queen of intending to destroy the "Ancient Nobility" had in their own persons most "liberally tasted of her Majesties Favour, good countenance, Bounty, and familiar usage, more than others did of their Equals," and, he added, "far above their Deserts." The Queen had conceived so good an opinion of them that hardly could she "be induced to think such lack of Duty could enter into their Hearts against her, or such Ingratitude towards her" who had ever dealt towards them "so lovingly."

Denouncing their proclamation as a series of falsehoods,—and their word as worthless, in that they had on oath contradicted to him the advance rumours of the rebellion,—Sussex warned Her Majesty's subjects against being embroiled in machinations designed "*to draw foreign Nations into the Realm, to the utter Subversion and perpetual Bondage of this ancient free Commonwealth, . . .*"¹

Into the overtures that had been made from Spain to certain of the Queen's subjects, including Captain John Hawkins, we will soon enquire. It suffices now to say that Sussex by a masterly blend of statesmanship and generalship so completely broke the rebellion that the projected Spanish landing was postponed to a future time and occasion.

That the Duke of Alba in the crisis did not consider the circumstances sufficiently favourable for hazarding King Philip's Army his own correspondence shows. Much as he wished for Queen Elizabeth's dethronement, and for her death "*either by natural means or otherwise,*"² he was as celebrated for prudence as for valour. That the Queen's forces were ready and able to defend all parts of the realm was the determining factor in averting a Spanish landing.³

¹ In extenso, Strype's *Annals*, 1709. p. 551. ² S.P.S. Simancas, Estado 823.

³ In ch: VII of "*Two English Queens and Philip,*" 1908, p. 296, "the grim Duke, who had drowned Flanders in blood" is accused by Martin Hume of behaving "tamely" in 1569. This English critic of Spanish affairs overlooked the prompt actions of Sussex and our English Army. His scoffing tone as to King Philip not being "much more stout hearted than his general" embodies the usual modern English delusion as to the weakness of Spain.

To-day the Northern Rising is regarded as negligible by critics who measure the importance of a campaign not by the fate of a kingdom turning upon its success or failure, but by the duration of the fighting. Actually it would be impossible to exaggerate the service rendered to Queen Elizabeth by her Army; especially by Sussex (whose task was the more disagreeable in that he had a half-brother, Egremont Ratcliffe, among the rebels').

At a cost of nearly £60,000 to the Crown, and much blood and many tears to the offenders, the rebellion was stamped out by Sussex, whose ruthlessness long remained a byword. His severity was only towards those who refused mercy. For such as came in and submitted, there was pardon. But they were required to take a new oath of allegiance, declaring themselves "heartily sorry" for their offence, and promising to be "true and faithful Subjects" henceforth, to defend and maintain the laws of the land, nor ever put their persons into "assemblies or commotions"; nor muster in "forcible array," except under command of persons authorised by the Queen or her Lieutenant. No more must they be guilty of "Treasons, Felonies, nor Murders"; and any subject hearing of seditious plots must promptly reveal the same.

"And you shall also swear . . . *that the Queen's Highness is the only supreme Governor of this Realm, and of all other her Highness' Dominions and Countries,*² *as well in all Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Things or cares as temporal; and that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate etc.*" *should be obeyed against her.*³

Going into the churches and "cutting and tearing the Bibles and the Common Prayer Books and treading them under foot" had been one of the acts of the insurgents. This would have been in retaliation for Queen Elizabeth's destruction of statues of the Virgin Mary. But ignoring any such provocation, the Archbishop of Canterbury issued a discourse in which he bade the people not fancy that rebels having carried a banner with "the Image of the Plough painted thereon, with *God*

¹ Note p. 34. ² viz. Ireland and Wales.

³ Ib: p. 552. The people mostly conformed; but many of the old territorial families preferred to pay fines, and endure various disabilities, rather than compromise. See "*Lord Burghley's Map of Lancashire. 1590. Annotated by Joseph Gillow*" C.R.S. Miscell: IV. 1907. With facsimile from B.M. Royal MS. 18. D. iii. The editor, p. 162, refers to this map, possibly drawn by Saxton (whose map of Lancs was printed in 1577), as "*prepared for the private use of Elizabeth's unscrupulous secretary of state, William Cecil, Lord Burghley.*" But Burghley had ceased to be Secretary of State before this map was drawn. From 1572 he was Lord High Treasurer. And it was for official purposes, like the P.R.O. MS. Map of Lancashire, S.P.D.E. CCXXXV, No. 5, 1590 (described op. cit., p. 162). The editor, pp. 162-222, supplies biographical and genealogical notes on the landed gentry whose names are marked by Burghley. They include Clifton, Townley, Hoghton of Hoghton Tower, Molyneux (ancestor of the present Earl of Sefton), Stanley, Hyde, Blundell of Ince Blundell, and Blundell of Crosby, Atherton, Holcroft, Standish, Hesketh, Lathom, Brockholes of Cloughton (now Fitzherbert-Brockholes), Preston, Middleton, Gerard of Ashton, Gerard of Bryn (ancestor of Lord Gerard), Trafford of Trafford, Preston of Furness Abbey, Assheton, Byrom, Holt, Hulton of Hulton Park, Worsley, Radclyffe of Todmorden, Radclyffe of Ordsall, and Radclyffe of Foxdenton. But when the editor refers to "*the State religion which the government of Elizabeth sought by the most unjustifiable and savage methods to impose upon the country,*" he forgot that Queen Elizabeth prided herself on being much more merciful to Catholics than her sister had been to Protestants.

speed the Plough written under in great Letters," was any proof of skill in husbandry:

"none hinder the Plough more than Rebels, who will neither go (to) the Plough themselves, nor suffer others that would go to it. And tho' some Rebels bear the picture of the Five Wounds painted, the true Christians are those who put their only Hope of Salvation in the Wounds of Christ, not those Wounds which are painted on a Clout"

Some had carried the cross with the motto of the Emperor Constantine, "By this sign thou shalt get the Victory." But a motto first devised against heathens was a sign most "unmeet" for persons rebelling against their Sovereign and fighting their own countrymen.

The Archbishop could make this pronouncement with the more effect, because, by the time he spoke, the Earl of Sussex had completely overthrown the insurgent army. The leaders had fled, the Earl of Westmorland abroad, and the Earl of Northumberland over the Border.

Into Scotland the war was to be carried: Sussex having determined so to handle this rising that there should never be another while Elizabeth Regina lived.²

¹ Ib: p. 553.

² It will not be necessary to follow Sussex into Scotland. The point is that the fortunes of England turned upon his promptitude in 1569.

Though King Philip had disappointed the Catholics, he pensioned some of them:

"I have herd saye by som of the Tresors Clarks of Spayn that the Kenge of Spayne is charged yn Flanders by the yere, geven to the Ynglishmen there, the Som of 23 thowsand Docketts yerelye of Pensyons."

Among his pensioners was the Earl of Sussex's brother:—"Egremont Radcliffe cam to Madrid the second of Maye 1572; the King gave him in July 300 Docketts, more the Keng gave him the eighth of September followeng 200 Docketts, and the 10th of September departed for Mallen [Milan], when the Keng gave him on Dockett per Daye; Then Egremont Radcliffe retorned from thens on(e) Yer after, and at hys Retorne the Keng gave hem in Monye 300 Docketts, and he departed from Madrid toward yn May 1574."

"The Kenge dothe geve to the Contes of Northumberland by the Yere, as I have sen the Bokz therof yn Madred, two thowsande Docketts by the Yere." Memo on ". . . Yngles Gentlemen, which cam into Spayen, . . . and what the Keng gave them . . ." (*State Papers*, Murdin, p. 242-4.)

Returning to England Ratcliffe was imprisoned in the Tower, and there carved his name "Egremont Radclyffe, 1576, pour parvenir." (*Archaeologia*, xiii, 94). He sued by letter to Lord Burghley to intercede for him, 20 April 1577; (Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, 1709. II. 495); but "It was not her Highness pleasure ever to employ him in her service or grant him her pardon" (Ib: p. 496. 6th May, 1577). She released him from prison, however; and instead of having him executed under Statute Law for his share in the Northern Rising, she merely banished him from the realm. A subsequent pretence that the condition of Ratcliffe's liberty arranged by Walsingham was that he was to assassinate Don John of Austria, is repeated by Heywood in the editorial notes to "*Cardinal Allen's Defence*," etc. Chetham Soc: 1851. (App:) But Heywood's remark that "Don John's purpose of marrying Queen Mary . . . served to renew the angry feelings between England and Spain which had almost slept since Alva's day," is the less judicious in that in 1576-77 the Duke of Alba (though he had returned to Spain from the Netherlands) was by no means at the end of his "day." His most important campaign was still to come in 1580. And far from English and Spanish antagonism having "*slept*" since the Duke's departure, England in 1576-7 was still without any Ambassador from King Philip; and both Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Nicholas Bacon were warning Queen Elizabeth that England must be ready for war.

Ratcliffe's execution in Namur for having himself "practised" (i.e. plotted) "the death of Don John," (Scarlet's *Estate of English Fugitives*, Sadler's Papers, App: II. 487) is mentioned by Heywood; holding to the assumption that his "mission" for murder originated in English official circles. To this story we will recur. It appears to be entirely without foundation.

APPENDIX A.

RECENT MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE NORTHERN RISING.

In a volume entitled "*Sir John Hawkins, The Time and the Man*," Oxford, 1927, Mr. James A. Williamson,—having undertaken to show the Elizabethan era in its true "perspective" and "proportion,"—dismisses the Northern Rising of 1569 with a few scornful words; reducing to a nonentity the renowned Earl of Sussex, and disposing casually of the rebel leaders; these last not being even mentioned by name or title, but merely thrown aside as "conservative nobles."¹ "*Conservative*" is an infelicitous epithet to apply to the daring Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, who intended no less of an innovation than to end for ever the dynasty of Tudor, and erect in its place the House of Stuart, under the patronage of Spain.²

The wars of religion—or rather wars and religion, whether at home or abroad,—are treated by Mr. Williamson as of scant account, except in relation to the supposed effect on commerce. The first Huguenot campaign is for him a "*tepid rising*":³ the second a "*feeble scuffle*." The English Catholic rebellion is "*Falstaffian*,"—a mode of description the more unsuitable considering the tragic consequences to its leaders.

As his book bears the imprint of the Oxford University Press, the misrenderings now italicised call for answer.⁴

"*If the rebels were poor in numbers and zeal*," he begins—(forgetful that they were gathered together by noblemen of princely prestige, their numbers formidable, their zeal for the Church of their ancestors sufficient to inspire them to hazard life and fortune)—"*still more so*"—that is still more "*poor in numbers and zeal*"—"were the Government forces."

Mr. Williamson mistakes the nature of Her Majesty's Armies; commanded in the North by Thomas Ratcliffe Earl of Sussex, K.G. aforesaid, and in the South by peers also experienced in war: Lord Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, K.G., who in 1562-3 had been Lieutenant-General in France, and in Queen Mary's reign had taken part in the famous victory at St. Quentin, and Edward Fiennes, 9th Baron Clinton, K.G., Lord High Admiral of England; under which two Generals there served as Marshal of the Army the Queen's near kinsman Walter Devereux, Viscount Hereford, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, head of a house "famous of old for worthy deeds,"⁵ and "the Lord Willoughby" (of Parham) as Commander of the Rear-Guard.

Among "voluntaries" accompanying Sussex, the Northern Army list shows many

¹ In 16th century printed matter the names are difficult to avoid. Even in an Italian life of Pope Pius V, Rome, 1587, there is a description of the attempt in England "*contra Elisabetta Regina*" (pp. 112-114); and how "*alcuni baroni Inglesi (Conte di Nortomberland & Vestmorland) prēdono l'arma contra ad Elisabetta*" (pp. 115-116). G. Catena, "*Vita del Gloriosissimo Papa Pio Quinto*." (Title page II. i. 5b.

² Mr. Williamson's phrase "conservative nobles" is reminiscent of a previous 20th century rendering of these events: Martin Hume's "*Two English Queens and Philip*," 1908, p. 310: "the party of *conservative nobles*, ready to turn against Elizabeth the moment she was in danger," etc. Present party political labels are totally unsuited to the 16th century.

³ p. 205.

⁴ p. 229.

⁵ Popular Ballad, 1576. (II, 2, 3).

of known name;¹ and in the Southern Army also a galaxy of well-born Captains.² But for Mr. Williamson the Queen's forces are "*Militia levies hastily raised from half disloyal counties, clamorous for pay and disinclined to fight.*" For which phrase should be substituted "eager loyalists ready to die for their Queen, carefully recruited, and excellently led by gentlemen of good house."

"*With them,*" states Mr. Williamson, "*the Earl of Sussex had no great hope of success, though ultimately the revolt subsided of itself, killed by the faint-heartedness of its leaders.*"

No authority is given for this fancy picture of the Queen's troops, as so few, and drawn from such seditious counties, so clamorous for pay in advance, that her General was impotent; and only saved by the "faint-heartedness" of his opponents, the "conservative noblemen" unnamed.

Had Mr. Williamson consulted the printed Calendars of State Papers, Domestic, Foreign, and Scottish, he would have seen that there remains material enough to make a large book upon the bold, and impassioned venture of the two most powerful landowners in the North: whose castles were palaces, whose names were known far and wide, and whose followers were encouraged in their efforts by promise of aid from the most potent Monarch in Christendom.

So formidable was the Voluntary Army raised by the great patrician rebels, that Sussex, Lord President of the North, did not immediately emerge from behind the walls of York. He waited for what he judged to be the crucial moment, and then marched out, not merely with the good "*hope of success*" which Mr. Williamson denies him, (on the supposition that his troops were "*poor in numbers and zeal,*") but with the absolute determination not only to subdue that rising, but so to punish it as to strike terror into the hearts of future malcontents.

Had the rebel Earls been opposed to an inexperienced Commander, their ambition of seeing the Queen of Scots crowned at Westminster might have been realised. But Sussex not only crushed the insurgents in England, he carried the war into Scotland,—the defeated Earls having taken shelter across the Border, where they had many sympathisers. As Sussex's severity was extreme,—his declared aim being that the North on both sides of the Tweed should receive such a lesson that never again should there be an armed rebellion during Queen Elizabeth's reign,—and as the voluminous correspondence has long been accessible, and Sir William Cecil's retrospective reference in 1571 to the revolt of 1569 as organised by the King of Spain, is in his most uncompromising language, to dismiss the matter as a comedy of "*Falstaffian opponents*" is a preposterous example of the "sophisticated modern" habit of summarising wars without first ascertaining of whom and what the armies were composed, or what they achieved.

When Mr. Williamson declares that for the Catholics "*a couple of thousand Spanish regulars would have made all the difference, and one of the few sound things the rebels did was to possess themselves of Harlepool and send word to the Netherlands that a port was open,*" his inference that "*a couple of thousand Spanish regulars*" could have

¹ "*The names of all the principall officers and captaynes of the Army marching Northward when the two Earles of Northumberland and Westmorland rebelled. 1 December a^o 12 Eliz.:*" Lansdowne MS. 207. C.

² "*A Brief of the number of Captaynes, theyre officers and souldiers levied in the South againste the Rebels in the North*" (from S.P. Dom.) Both lists printed in "*Proc. of the Soc. of Antiquaries,*" 1889, 2nd Ser: Vol. XII.

conquered England shows extraordinary forgetfulness of what enormous forces were considered necessary by King Philip in 1588, 1596, and 1597 in preparation for his intended annexation of this Kingdom.

After so quick a change from rebels being "*poor in number and zeal*" to their becoming "*sound*" and strong enough "*to possess themselves of Hartlepool and send word to the Netherlands that a port was open*," Mr. Williamson refers almost as casually to King Philip's Governor-General the Duke of Alba as to the Duke's English Catholic allies: "*Alva had neither time nor money for an invasion in form . . . but he was prepared to risk a raid The rebels, however, failed to achieve the condition he laid down as indispensable—the rescue of Mary Stuart from captivity.*"

The point missed by Mr. Williamson is that the two Northern Earls would not have risen without assurance of solid help from King Philip. Grandees of the Duke of Alba's quality were not asked to lead "raids"; they were expected either to perform invasion and conquest, or not to hazard the King's forces. If the only assistance King Philip would have promised had been for his General to "risk a raid" after the Queen of Scots had been delivered from captivity,—which is to say after Queen Elizabeth's armies both of the North and South had been encountered and defeated by the insurgents,—such an offer would have been a mockery.

Let us turn therefore from Mr. Williamson to Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and enquire as to that leader's expectations. Northumberland informed the Earl of Murray,—the captive Queen's illegitimate half-brother, Regent of Scotland,—that the Spanish Ambassador had arranged for assistance from the Netherlands to depend upon whether the English Catholics became securely enough possessed of Hartlepool for the Spanish Army to land in safety.¹

"*The English Government was alive to the danger*," says Mr. Williamson; having earlier in the same paragraph denied the danger on the ground that the Duke of "*Alva had neither time nor money for an invasion.*"

A statement that the Queen's ships from the Medway were sent to "*lie off Hartlepool*" and to "*watch the Flemish coast*," instead of being followed by an explanation of how England's control of the Narrow Seas contributed vitally to the defeating of the rebellion, leads Mr. Williamson instead to dismiss "*persons who then bore the permanent rank of admiral*" as merely "*civil administrators.*" But the "*person who then bore the permanent rank*" of Lord High Admiral in 1569 was certainly not sitting in the soft chair of a "civilian administrator." In addition to his "*permanent rank*"—which was genuinely permanent, he having been High Admiral to three successive Sovereigns,—he was responsible for the Southern Army as General jointly with Ambrose Earl of Warwick.

No writer who had examined the facts, could possibly have dismissed as "*Falstaffian*" a Civil War in which the leaders on both sides were heads of great martial houses, whose prestige drew eager recruits at the time, and whose names still call up (for any mind acquainted with the Chronicles of England) not only the memory of the Earls themselves but of their many conspicuous ancestors: a pageant of power and renown.

The ruin which came upon the Catholic champions Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of

¹ Information from the Regent Murray, via Lord Hunsdon to Q. Eliz: Berwick 30 Dec. 1569. Calendared S.P. Foreign, 1569-71. pp. 157-158. The 2 Proclamations of the rebel Earls are printed Cal: S.P. Dom: Addenda 1566-79; p. 111, & 162.

In the same vol. and the equivalent vol. Cal: S.P. Scottish, also in Cal: S.P. Foreign 1569-71 are ample means of assessing the gravity of the crisis.

Northumberland, and Charles Neville, Earl of Westmorland, in the cause of Queen Mary of Scots and the Papacy, entitles them to the respect due to those who inheriting in profusion the good things of this world dare hazard them for their principles. To omit the names of the two Earls, and be unaware of the martial fame of their opponent and conqueror, is not the way to fulfil the promise Mr. Williamson made in his Preface to "*preserve proportion*," present a true "*perspective*," and "*depict the period as clearly as possible*."

When the Earl of Westmorland fled to the Spanish King, who had promised him reinforcement, and when the Earl of Northumberland stood on the scaffold at York,—leaving behind him an adoring wife, to whom his fate was more terrible than any calamity she might have borne in his place,—this tragedy inspired many a popular ballad: some compassionate and grief-stricken, others concentrated upon thanksgiving for the Virgin Queen's deliverance; but either way alive to the solemnity of the occasion.

Mr. Williamson's reduction of the Northern Rising to what he terms a "*Falstaffian*" level,—revealing as it does a lamentable callousness as to the times, the persons, and the circumstances,—calls for comment the more urgently on account of his claim to embody the results of "modern historical analysis."

Such loose methods of writing may be "*modern*," but they are not "*analysis*." And if the imprint of a University Press enables them to pass as "*historical*" this is a sad falling away from the standard of such of the Elizabethans as would "*rather use honest silence than rash speech*," and preferred "plain unskill and ignorance" to the "blinde boldnesse" of some who, lacking "true understanding of the original of many things" do not scruple to commit to writing their own "fantasies" in place of "assured truths."¹

¹ Wm. Lambarde, 1576, "*The Perambulation of Kent*," ed: 1656. p. 401.

APPENDIX B.

EXPENSES OF THE EXPEDITION UNDER THOMAS EARL OF SUSSEX, K.G., LORD PRESIDENT OF THE NORTH, "HER MAJESTY'S LIEUTENANT GENERAL, FOR THE PURSUING OF THE REBELS FLED INTO SCOTLAND."¹

Because of Williamson's statement that Queen Elizabeth's Army in 1569-70 consisted of raw "levies" afraid to fight, and that the rebellion perished of the inanition of its "conservative" leaders, we should consult certain figures from the accounts kept by the Treasurer to the Army of the North under "Her Majesty's Lieutenant General."

From November 1569 to November 1570 the cost of that force, including operations in Scotland was nearly £60,000—a sum believed to represent four to eight times as much in modern money.

| | | | |
|--|---------|----|---|
| Pay of the Lord Lt. (General) and officers | £2,482 | 7 | 0 |
| „ „ Demi Lances and double pistols | 5,581 | 4 | 4 |
| „ „ Light Horse | 14,707 | 10 | 2 |
| „ „ Foot | 20,863 | 12 | 2 |
| Conduct money | 1,718 | 12 | 1 |
| Ordnance | 780 | 4 | 7 |
| Movements of Ordnance (Artillery horses, etc.) | 876 | 14 | 6 |
| "Espyall" money disbursed in Scotland | 2,073 | 14 | 0 |
| Victualling (of which details are given) | 9,446 | 7 | 7 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | £59,608 | 7 | 9 |

To meet these charges funds were raised :

| | | | |
|--|---------|---|----|
| From the Exchequer | £33,102 | 1 | 11 |
| „ loans raised in the Counties | 14,933 | 6 | 8 |
| „ fines imposed in the North | 3,461 | 0 | 0 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| Total | £51,496 | 8 | 7 |

The General received for himself and his escort of Thirty Halberdiers, 100 shillings a day. His Second in Command, Lord Hunsdon, 40 shillings per diem; his Marshal Sir William Drury 20 shillings; and his Treasurer and Surveyor of the Victuals (Sir Valentine Browne) 13/4.

The three squadrons of Demi-Lances, and one of one hundred Lances, nine and a half squadrons of Light Horse, and thirty Companies of Foot, which with Artillery made up this Army, was only part of the force raised in 1569. There was also "the Army of the South."²

We must cease ignoring or underrating Queen Elizabeth's soldiers, for their story is intertwined

¹ Pipe Office Declared Account No. 229. "The Account of Sir Valentine Browne, Knight, appointed and authorised Treasurer and General Surveyor for the victualling of the said Army advanced into Scotland. . . ." Recites Browne's Commission, dated Hampton Court, 6 Feb: 1569-70, and then gives expenditure.

² Vide. App: C.

with that of the Navy. The Defence of the Realm whether by land or sea was thought out for forty years by one and the same brain: Sir William Cecil (Lord Burghley from 1571). This defence is the real history of Elizabethan England; for had our fighting men, ashore and afloat, been less efficient and resolute, King Philip of Spain would not have been disappointed of his hopes. And the printing presses would have been under His Spanish Majesty's license long before William Shakespeare was old enough to publish his maiden effort, "*Venus and Adonis*," in 1593. But many to-day are nearly as oblivious of this as if the King of Spain had been no more danger to England than the Man in the Moon. Hence the need to bring literature into juxtaposition with the national life, of which it was the outcome.¹

¹ As Haynes's selection of Hatfield MSS. "*A Collection of State Papers . . . from the Year 1542 to 1570*," published in 1740, contains in extenso numerous letters of the Queen as to the Northern Rising, Mr. James A. Williamson's underrating of the dangerous rebellion is the less accountable. The same papers were summarised in Vol. I. of Hatfield MSS Cal: 1883, including the Commission of Lieutenancy for putting the Kingdom in order to resist the rebels in the North, p. 443.

Co^s Notts and Derby

Lancaster & Chester

Leicester & Rutland

Staffordshire

Lincoln

The Earl of Shrewsbury

The Earl of Derby

The Earl of Huntingdon

Viscount Hereford

Lord Clinton, Lord High Admiral.

And so on. The names of these peers are of themselves guarantees of efficient organisation; and why Mr. Williamson should have imagined incompetence a leading characteristic of what he calls the "Government forces" (meaning the Royal Army) it is impossible to explain.

APPENDIX C.

THE ARMY OF THE SOUTH. 1569.

Although in 1889 the particulars of this Army were printed in the "*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*" 2nd series, Vol. XII. p.277-279, from Lansdowne MS. 207.C., and pp. 279-282, "*A Brief of the number of Captaynes, their officers and souldiers levied in the South against the Rebels in the North . . .*" from S.P. Domestic, "modern historical analysis" so rarely includes familiarity with Army lists, and the nature of Queen Elizabeth's forces has been so completely misconceived by Mr. James A. Williamson, that it is necessary now to draw out of oblivion "*The names of all the principall officers and captaynes of the Army marching northward when the two Earles of Northumberland and Westmoreland rebelled. 1 December, a^o 1569. a^o 12^o Eliz: regina.*"

| | | |
|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| Ambrose Dudley Earle of Warwicke | } | L.L. Lieutenants |
| Edward Lord Clynton Admirall of England | | |
| Walter Devereux, Viscount Hereford | | L. Marshall |
| The Lord Willoughby ¹ | | Command ^r of ye Rereward |
| Robert Car of Sleford Esq. | | Treasurer |
| Leonard Irby | | Muster Master |
| John Highfield | | Provost m'shall |
| Charles Howard | | Generall of ye Horse |
| Francis Knollys | | Lieut. " " " |
| Robert Constable | | Sergeant Major |
| James Spenser | | M ^r of ye Ordinance |
| Tristram Tirwhit | | Camp maister |
| John Henneag Esqre | | Mr Harbinger |
| Norrey | | King at Armes |
| Portcullis | | Herald at Armes |

Captaynes of ye Horsemen

| | | |
|----------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| Sir Henry Clynton Knight | } | 163 Demylances and |
| Richard Berty esqre ² | | Pistoletts |
| Captain Howard | | 126 Demylances |
| Capt Bowser | | 146 Light horsemen |
| Captain Dynocke | | 108 Demylances |
| Capt Caluceley | | 104 Light horsemen |
| Capt Nevile | | 50 " " |
| Capt Carlton | } | 100 Lances |
| Capt Corbet | | 50 Light horsemen |
| Capt Drury | | 102 |
| " Dalton | | 72 |
| Capt Dorrington | | 110 Lances |
| Cap Bruerton ³ | | 30 |
| Capt St Poll | | 100 Pistolets and Light horsemen |
| Capt Blunt | | 122 Pistolets |
| Capt Turvile | | 87 " |
| Capt Greene | | |

¹ of Parham.

² Husband of Katharine Duchess of Suffolk.

³ Bretherton.

Captaines of ye Footmen

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|------------|
| Sir John Zouch | 321 | Capt Cobham | 200 |
| Sir Thomas Venables | 324 | Burford | 222 |
| Sir Robert Tirwhit | 237 | FitzWilliam | 360 |
| Captaine Thomas Clynton | (blank) | Yaxley } | 221 |
| Capt Hall | 163 | Bushy } | 500 |
| Capt Towney | 240 | Leighton | 500 |
| Capt Cary | 1000 | Horsey | 336 |
| „ Constable | 272 | Molyneux | 306 |
| „ Meres | 373 | Bowes | 548 |
| Capt Lascels | 311 | Lane | 216 |
| Derby | 247 | Worseley | 216 |
| Denzil Hollys ¹ | 252 | Ratcliffe | 126 |
| Skipworth | 341 | Wingfield | 216 |
| Carsey | 363 | Fulstrop | 343 |
| Hastings | 500 | Deuoreux | 100 |
| George | 310 | Bruerton | 100 |
| Myldmay | 203 | Rigeley | 217 |
| Foliambe | 319 | Leighton | 307 |
| Manners | 300 | Thicknes | Pioneers |
| Capt Darell | | Surueior of Victuals | |
| Mr. Rowley | | Commissary of ye Cariages | |
| John Heath | | Purveyor of ye Cariages | |
| Mr. Highcocke | | Master of ye 12 forage horsemen | |
| Captain Booth | 324 | Highfeild | 200 |
| Dymoke | 120 | Coxon | 60 Archers |

The State Paper Office List of "*Captens, officers and soldiers of the army levied in the Southe against the Rebels*" (with all the numbers in Roman figures) ends:

"Sma of thole number of Footmen

XIJ^m VI^o LXXIIIJ

whereof

Captens XLIX

Officers III^o LXXVJ

Souldiers XII^m IJ^o XLIX

The totall of thole Armye as well

Horsemen as Footmen

XIIIJ^m II^o XV

(14,000 225.)²

¹ Beside which last name is note in margin in 17th century hand, "*Filius fuit p'mogenitus Willi Hollys militis, et pater Joh'is Hollis comitis de Clare. Vir fuit fortitudine insignis.*"

² Notice that many of the Companies of Foot number from 300 to 500 men. In 1586 the Earl of Warwick's brother Robert Earl of Leicester, was to alter the scale for Companies, breaking up each one into two, or sometimes three; and in 1591 under Robert Earl of Essex in France a Company of Foot averaged 150 all told. (Unpublished Army list under date.) No soldier will question that the small Companies were easier to handle.

It is mere fancy on the part of the 1927 publication already quoted that the Armies of 1569 were disloyal and ill-disciplined. Students should distrust all such generalities; and rely only upon opinions based on precise evidence as to particulars.

War being the most complicated of all arts and sciences, it cannot be correctly expounded by critics not conversant with the first principles of that art, nor its history and evolution, nor the composition of the forces censured.

PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION 3.

“The Sentence of Anathema.”

(By Pope Pius V against Queen Elizabeth, 1569-70).

“ . . . We do . . . declare the said Elizabeth, being a heretic and a favourer of heretics, to have incurred the sentence of Anathema . . . And moreover We do declare her to be deprived of her pretended title to the Kingdom aforesaid . . . and also the sovereignty, subjects, and people of the said Kingdom, and all others that have in any sort sworn unto her, to be for ever absolved from any such Oath . . . And We do command and interdict all and every Noblemen, Subjects, People, and others aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her, or her monitions, Mandates and Laws . . . ”

Pope Pius V: Declaration “against Elizabeth pretended Queen of England and all her heretical adherents.” (1569-70).

(Translated from Latin broadside: reproduced overleaf.)

“His Holiness has taken this step without communicating with me, . . . which certainly has surprised me . . . he no doubt thought that what he did was the only thing requisite for all to turn out as he wished But I fear that not only will this not be the case, but that this sudden and unexpected step will exacerbate things there, and drive the Queen and her friends the more to oppress and persecute the few good Catholics remaining in England.”

King Philip II to his Ambassador. S.P., Simancas. Cal. p. 254.

“All that obtain . . . any Bull of Absolution or Reconciliation from the Church of Rome, or Absolve or be Absolved thereby, both they and their Accessories before the Fact, shall be adjudged Guilty of High Treason . . . ”

New Statute, 13th Elizabeth (1571) in consequence of Pope Pius V dispensing her subjects from their allegiance.

S. D. N. PII PAPAE V.

Sententia declaratoria contra Elisabeth prætenfam Angliæ Reginam,
& ei adhærentes Hereticos.

Qua etiam declarantur absoluti omnes subditi a iuramento fidelitatis & quocunque alio debito

Et deinceps obedientes Anathemate illaqueantur.



P IVS Episcopus Servus servorum Dei, Ad futuram rei memoriam.



REGNANS in excelsis, cui data est omnis in cælo, & in terra potestas, vnam sanctam Catholicam, & Apostolicam Ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est salus, vni soli in terris videlicet Apostolorum Principi Petro, Petriq. successori Romano Pontifici, in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam. Hunc unum super omnes gentes, & omnia regna principem constituit, qui euellat, destruat, dissipet, disperdat, plantet, & ædificet: vt fidelem populū mutæ charitatis nexu constrictum, in unitate spiritus cõtineat; saluumq. & incolumem suo exhibeat saluatori. Quo quidem in munere obeundo, nos ad prædictæ Ecclesiæ gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullū laborem intermittimus, omni opera contendentes, ut ipsa unitas, & Catholica religio (quam illius author ad probandam suorum fidem, & correctionem nostram, tantis procellis constrictari permisit) integra conseruetur. Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentia inualuit, ut nullus iam in orbe locus sit relictus, quem illi pessimi doctrinis corrumpere non tentarint; adnitente inter cæteros, flagitiorum serua Elisabeth prætenfa Angliæ Regina, ad quā veluti ad asylum omnium infestissimi profugium inuenerunt. Hæc eadem regno occupato supremæ Ecclesiæ capitis locum in omni Anglia, eiusq. præcipuam auctoritatem atque iurisdictionem monstruose sibi vſurpans, regnum ipsum iam tum ad fidem Catholicam & bonam frugem reducendum, rursus in miserum exitium reuocauit. Vſu namque veræ religionis quam ab illius desertore Henrico octauo olim euerſam, claræ memoriæ Maria regina legitimæ, huius sedis præsidio reparauerat, potenti manu inhibito, secutisq. & amplexis hæreticorum erroribus, regium consilium ex Anglica nobilitate confectum diremit; iſſuq. obscuris hominibus hæreticis complexuit, Catholicæ fidei cultores oppressit, Improbos concionatores, atque impietatum administros reposuit. Missæ sacrificium, Preces, ieiunia, Ciborum delectū, Celibatum, & iusque catholicos aboleuit: Libros manifestam heresim cõtinentes, toto regno proponi: impia mysteria, & instituta ad Caluini præscriptum a se ſeſceptra, & obseruata, etiam a subditis ſeruari mandauit: Episcopos Ecclesiarū, Rectores, & alios sacerdotes Catholicos, suis Ecclesiis, & beneficiis eicere, ac de illis, & alijs rebus Ecclesiasticis, in hereticos homines disponere, deque Ecclesiæ causis decernere aſu: Prælatiſ, clero, & populo, ne Romanam Ecclesiam agnoscerent, neue eius præceptis, sanctionibusque Canonici obtemperarent, interdixit: plerisq. in æſarias leges ſuas venire, & Romani Pontificis auctoritatem atq. obedientiam abiurare, ſeq. ſolam in temporalibus & ſpirituallibus dominam agnoſcere, iureiurando coegit: pœnas & ſupplicia in eos, qui dicto nõ eſſent audientes, impoſuit, eaſdemq. ab iis, qui in unitate fidei & prædictæ obedientia perſeuerarunt, exegit: Catholicos, Antiliſites, & Eccleſiarum rectores in uincula coniecit: vbi multi diuturno languore & triſtitia confecti, extremum vitæ diem miſere finiuerunt. Quæ omnia cum apud omnes nationes perſpicua & notoria ſint, & grauiffimo quamplurimorum teſtimonio ita comprobata, ut nullus omnino locus excuſationis, deſenſionis, aut tergiverſationis relinquatur: Nos multiplicanribus alijs atque alijs ſuper alias impietatibus, & facinoribus, & præterea fidelium perſecutione, religionisq. afflictione, impulſu, & opera dictæ Elisabethæ quotidie magis ingraueſcente; quoniam illius animam ita obſcuratam atque induratum intelligimus, ut non modo prius Catholicorum principum de ſanitate, & conueſſione preces, monitioneſq. contempſerit, ſed ne huius quidem ſedis æriſptam hac de cauſa nuncios in Angliam transire permiſerit, ad arma iuſtitie contra eam de neceſſitate conuerſi dolorem lenire non poſſumus, quod adducamur in unam animaduertente, cuius maiores de Rep. Chriſtiana tantopere meruere. Illius itaq. auctoritate ſuffulti, qui nos in hoc ſupremo iuſtitie throno, licet tãto oneri impares, uoluit collocare, de Apoſtolice poteſtatis plenitudine declaramus prædictam Elisabeth Hereticam, & hereticorū ſautricem, eiq. adherentes in prædictis, anathematis ſententiam incurriſſe, eſſeq. a Chriſti corporis unitate præciſos: Quinetiam ipſam prætenſo Regni prædictæ, necnon omni, & quocunq. dominio, dignitate, priuilegioque priuatam: & item proceres, ſubditos, & populos dicti Regni, ac cæteros omnes, qui illi quomodocunq. iurauerunt, a iuramento huiusmodi, ac omni prorsus domini fidelitatis, & obſequii debito, perpetuo absolutos, prout nos illos præſentium auctoritate abſoluimus: & priuamus eandē Elisabeth, & ætenuſ iure Regni, aliſq. omnibus ſupradictis; Præcipimusq. & interdiciamus vniuerſis, & ſingulis proceribus, ſubditis, & alijs prædictis, ne illi eiufdem oneris, mādatis, & legibus audeant obedire: Qui ſecus egerint, eos ſimili anathematis ſententia innodamus. Quia vero difficile nimis eſſet, præſentes quocunq. illis opus erit perſerre, volumus vt earū exempla ſcruarii publici manu, & prælati eccleſiaſtici, eiufue curiæ ſigillo obſignata, eandem illam prorsus in iudicio, & extra illud ubiq. gentium ficiant, quam ipſæ præſentes facerent, ſi eſſent exhibitæ, uel oſtenſæ. Darum Romæ apud S. Petrum, Anno incarnationis Domini milieſimo quingenteſimo ſexageſimo nono, Quinto Kl. Martii, Pontificatus noſtri anno quinto.

BRITISH
MUSEUM.

Cæ. Glorierius.

H. Cumy.

*Transcriptum auri
cæburg. 1661. nro 1482*

(Opposite) *DECLARATION OF POPE PIUS V.*
AGAINST "ELIZABETH THE PRETENDED QUEEN OF ENGLAND":

*Pronouncing her laws invalid, and herself unfit to reign;
condemning with her all her heretical adherents; and
also forbidding foreign Catholics to accept her title. 15 March, 1569-70.*

From the actual broadside: B.M. C. 18. e. 2. No. 14.

(The flaw in the printing occurs in the original).

Although familiarity with this Declaration is a necessity for comprehension either of the Catholic or Protestant position in England, from 1570 to the end of the Queen's reign, it is not quoted verbatim in standard modern expositions of the policy of the one side or the other. But this *Sententia Declaratoria* of Pius Quintus is given in full in *L'Historia Ecclesiastica della Rivoluzion d'Inghilterra*, of Girolamo Pollini, dedicated to Cardinal Allen (" . . . Monsignore . . . Guglielmo Cardinale Alano "), Licensed by Pope Clement VIII. Rome. 1594. Lib. III. (Declaration in Latin, pp. 460-462; trans: into Italian, pp. 462-465).

(Collotype) *POPE PIUS V: from his monument in the Sistine Chapel
in Santa Maria Maggiore.*

Photograph: Alinari, 28240, Rome.



PIO V PONT MAX
EX ORD PRAEDIC
SIXTVS V PONT MAX
EX ORD MINOR
GRATIANIMI MONVMENTVM
POSVIT

PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION 3.

“The Sentence of Anathema.”

(By Pope Pius V against Queen Elizabeth, 1569-70).

IT has been asserted by a much respected English Catholic antiquary that the “Government” indulged in false pretences as to Papal Bulls, in order to excite animus against Catholics. And this opinion has given rise to an assumption that there was never any such thing as a Papal Bull for the dethronement of Queen Elizabeth.

Protestants to-day sometimes use the word “Bull” where “Declaration” would be correct. *But whether it had been by Bull or Declaration that Queen Elizabeth was anathematised and her subjects forbidden to obey her, it amounted to the same thing. Those who accepted the Pope’s fiat were compelled to withdraw their allegiance from the Sovereign; a command easy of obedience for Catholics living abroad, but placing those at home in a woeful predicament.*

As Principal Secretary Sir William Cecil had been born and bred in the Catholic Church, he was not likely to have forgotten the difference between a Bull and a Declaration; and he referred repeatedly to “the Bull of Pope Pius for the dethronement of the Queenes Majestie.” Dr. William Allen’s statement that it was because of “*Bulla Pij Quinti, An. 1569*” that the Queen’s authority became “voide by the lawe of God and man”: she being then “by publike sentence of the Church declared an Haereticke, . . . and for the same . . . excommunicated and deposed from all regal dignitie,” should not be overlooked.¹

¹ “The Copie of a Letter written by M. Doctor Allen,” &c., &c., 1587. (Chetham Soc: reprint: “Cardinal Allen’s Defence of Sir William Stanley’s Surrender of Deventer, January 29, 1586-7.” 1851.) Allen’s marginal note, “*Bulla Pij Quinti. An. 1569.*” p. 22. These words were printed in 1587, the same year Allen was selected by Philip II and Sixtus V to be “Cardinal of England” (See under date).

First Pope Pius issued his Bull; and then he sent to England a Broadside Declaration.

"A Bull
published
against
the Queene.

"Pius Quintus Bishop of Rome, who had heretofore layd close plots against Queene Elizabeth, and had the last yeare by his Bull declamatory without any admonition or citation premised, secretly innodated her by his sentence of Anathema and had raised rebellion against her, now caused the same sentence to be published and set up upon the gates of the Bishop of London's Palace"¹

The *Sententia Declaratoria* against "Elizabeth the pretended Queen of England and all her heretical adherents" should now receive our close consideration. First, because it is essential to the understanding of the political situation from 1569 to the end of the Queen's life. Second, that even its main points are seldom now quoted in works on the relations of England and Rome.²

The wording could not be clearer; and we will soon see its effects upon the Queen who found herself thus accursed; also upon the champions pledged to defend her; and upon her Catholic subjects; some dismayed that they were ordered to repudiate her; others resolving to overthrow the heretic or die in the attempt.

"The Sentence Declaratory of our Holy Lord Pope Pius V against Elizabeth pretended Queen of England and all her heretical adherents.

"Wherein also all her subjects are declared absolved from the Oath of Allegiance, and every other thing due unto her whatsoever. And those which henceforth obey her shall incur the same Anathema.

"Pius, Bishop, Servant to God's servants: for a future memorial of this matter: He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all Power in Heaven and Earth, hath committed one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, outside which there is no salvation, to one alone upon earth, namely to Peter the chief of the Apostles; and to Peter's successors the Bishops of Rome, to be governed in the fulness of Power. Him alone He hath made Prince over all Peoples and all Kingdoms: to root up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant and build, that he may uphold the faithful that are knit together in the band of Charity, in the Unity of the Spirit, and present them spotless to the Saviour:

"In discharge of which function, We, who by God's goodness are called to the Governance of the aforesaid Church, so spare no pains, labouring with all earnestness, that the Unity of the Catholic Religion (which the Author thereof hath for the trial of his children's faith and for our amendment, suffered to be punished with so great afflictions,) might be preserved uncorrupt.

"But the number of the ungodly hath gotten such power that *there is now no place left in the whole world which they have not essayed to corrupt with their most wicked Doctrines: amongst others Elizabeth, the pretended Queen of England, the servant of wickedness, lending thereunto her helping hand, with whom as in a Sanctuary, the most pernicious of all have found a refuge.*

"This very woman, having seized the Kingdom, and monstrously usurping the place of the Supreme Head of the Church in all England, and the chief authority and jurisdiction thereof, hath again brought back the said Kingdom into miserable destruction: which (realm) was heretofore restored to the Catholic Faith and then brought forth good fruits.

"For having by her strong hand forbidden the exercise of the true Religion, which Mary lawfull Queen, of famous memory, had by the help of the Sec restored, after it had been overthrown

¹ "*Annales . . . of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth Late Queen of England.*" Translated into English by R. N. Gent. 3rd ed: 1635. First published in Latin, 1615. (Declaration, verbatim, is in all editions.)

² "*In England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth.* By Arnold Oskar Meyer, Professor in the University of Rostock. Authorised Translation by the Rev. J. R. McKee, M.A., of the London Oratory," London, 1916, pp. 71-92, the Bull is extensively discussed, but only a few words of it quoted in a footnote, and references given to printed versions and to the 2 copies of the original in Arch. Vat. Miscell. But the Commentary is not easy to follow unless the reader has the text.

by Henry VIII, a revolter therefrom; and following and embracing the errors of Hereticks *she hath removed the Royal Council consisting of the Nobility, and hath filled it with obscure men being Heretics:*"

(In this last, Pope Pius was mistaken; for on Queen Elizabeth's accession, the premier Earl, Arundel, the Earl of Derby, and others of Queen Mary's Council had taken the oaths to her; and in 1569-70 she had the Marquess of Northampton, the Earls of Pembroke, Bedford, and Leicester, Lord Clinton (Lord High Admiral), and Lord Howard of Effingham as her chief Councillors: certainly not "*obscure men.*" As to the Knights, Sir Francis Knollys was her cousin; Sir Thomas Heneage, also Sir Nicholas Bacon and Sir James Crofts were of good houses. But all the Councillors became "heretics" when they declined to accept the Pope's authority: *otherwise they would have forfeited their seats in the Council.*)

"She hath suppressed the embracers of the Catholic Faith: she hath set up again dishonest preachers and ministers of impiety: She hath abolished the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Prayers, Fastings,¹ Choice of Meats, Celibacy, and Catholic rites.

"[She hath] commanded to be read throughout the whole realm books containing manifest heresies, and the impious mysteries and institutions by her entertained and observed according to the prescript of Calvin:

"[She hath] presumed to throw Bishops, Rectors, and other Catholic priests out of their Churches and Benefices, and bestow them and other Church livings upon heretics; and to determine Church causes:

"[She hath] forbidden the Bishops, Clergy and people to recognise the Church of Rome or obey the precepts and canonical sanctions thereof. *She hath compelled most of them to condescend to her detestable laws: and to abjure the authority and power of the Roman Pontiff: and acknowledge her to be sole Lady in temporal and Spiritual matters: and this by Oath.*²

"[She hath] imposed penalties and punishments upon those who obeyed not, and exacted them of those which persevered in the Unity of the Faith and their obedience to the aforesaid (Pontiff):

"She hath cast the Catholic Prelates and Rectors of churches in prison, where many of them being spent with long languishing and sorrows miserably ended their lives.

"All which things, seeing they are manifest and notorious to all nations, and by the gravest testimony of very many so substantially proved that there is no place at all left for excuse, defence or evasion, We, seeing that impieties and wicked actions are multiplied one upon another, and moreover that the persecution for Religion, and the affliction for [it] groweth every day, heavier and heavier, through the instigation and means of the said Elizabeth, (and) because *We understand her mind to be so hardened and indurate that she hath not only condemned the godly requests and admonitions of Catholic Princes, concerning her healing and Conversion, but also hath not so much as permitted the Nuncios of this See to cross the Seas into England, are constrained of necessity to betake ourselves to the weapons of Justice against her:* not being able to mitigate our sorrow that we are drawn to pronounce punishment upon one to whose ancestors the whole State of Christendom hath been so much beholden.

"Being therefore favoured with His Authority, whose pleasure it was to place Us (though unable for so great a burden) on this supreme Throne of Justice, We do out of the Fulness of our Apostolic Power, Declare the said Elizabeth, being a Heretic and a Favourer of Heretics, to have Incurred the Sentence of Anathema and to be Cut off from the Unity of the Body of Christ. And moreover we do Declare her to be Deprived of her Pretended Title to the Kingdom aforesaid, and of all Dominion, Dignity and Privilege whatsoever:

"And also the Nobility, Subjects, and People of the said Kingdom, and all

¹ In reality she was drastic as to the Keeping of Lenten fasts, and other fastdays; special license was required for eating meat in Lent.

² 1st Eliz: Cap. 2. This oath is forgotten to-day by numerous writers who refer to the "Catholic party at the Court," where there could not *openly* be any such party.

Others who have in any sort sworn unto her, to be For Ever Absolved from any such Oath, and all manner of Duty, Dominion, Allegiance, and Obedience :

“ As we do by authority of these presents absolve them, and do Deprive the same Elizabeth of her Pretended Title to the Kingdom, and all other things above said.

“ And We do Command and Interdict all and every Noblemen, Subjects, People, and Others aforesaid that they presume Not to Obey Her, or her Monitions, Mandates and Laws :

“ And those which shall do the contrary (to our command), We do innodate with the like sentence of Anathema.

“ And because it were a matter of too much difficulty to convey these present to all places wheresoever shall be needful, Our will is that copies thereof under a Public Notary's hand, and sealed with the seal of an Episcopal Prelate or of his Court, shall carry altogether the same credit with all people judicially and extra-judicially as these present should do if they were exhibited or shewed.

“ Given at Rome at St. Peter's in the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord 1569, the fifth of the Kalends of March, and of our Pontificate the fifth year.”

That the English subject who nailed this on the door of St. Paul's was executed for High Treason, was the inevitable consequence of his daring. That he ranked among Catholic martyrs was likewise logical, for he knew the law of the land, and was aware that his act would mean death if he were detected.¹ But it is impractical to suppose that Queen Elizabeth and her Council could have sat passive under such a tremendous denunciation; or to condemn them as “ bloodthirsty ” because in the Parliament of 1571 the laws against Catholics were made more drastic. Sir William Cecil subsequently contended that it was not the Queen who should be charged with causing the woes of her Catholic subjects; but rather the Pope, by commanding them to actions contrary to the Statutes of the Realm. That some of the Catholics brought their tragical fate upon themselves, or rather they were brought thereto by those from whom they took their orders, we shall find Cecil remarking again and again. But his words are rarely quoted; and the printed pamphlet embodying his commentary on the Queen's legislation appears to be left unread by the majority of modern historians, as much on the one side as on the other.²

When the Catholics declared that the Papal denunciation in 1569-70 was provoked by the existing Penal Laws, the answer given was that the laws formulated in the Queen's first Parliament had been for the protection of England

¹ “ The 25 of May in the morning was found hanging at the Bishop of London's palace gate, in Paules Churchyard, a Bull which lately had beene sent from Rome containing diuerse horrible treasons against the Quenes Maiestie, for the which one Iohn Felton was shortly after apprehended, and committed to the Tower of London.” Stow's *Annals*; ed: 1615, p. 666.

And (Ib:) 4th August 1570. “ The same day was arrayned at Guildhal of London Iohn Felton, for hanging a bull at the gate of the Bishop of London's palace, and also two young men for coyning, and clipping of coine, who all were found guilty of high treason, and had judgment to be drawne, hanged and quartered.”

“ Now also began y^e persecution to be more sharp in England for Cath^o Relighⁿ & diverse were put to death for y^e same, as Mr. Iohn Felton for setting up y^e Popes Bul. . . . ” &c.

Father Robert Parsons, S.J. (Roberto Personio), “ *Storie of Domesticall Difficulties wch the English Catholike cause, & promoters thereof, had,* ” &c.: written in 1600-1601. Stonehurst MS. A.1. 18. C.R.S. Miscell: II (1906), p. 91.

² “ *The Execution of Justice,* ” &c. See under its date 1583-84.

against such foreign domination as had proved contrary to the interests of the Kingdom during the reign of Philip and Mary. The resistance offered by Queen Elizabeth and her Parliament to Roman claims—her Majesty's adherents asserted,—was not a protest against purely spiritual supremacy, but against a political yoke.

Natural as it was for the Pope to attempt the overthrow of the heretical Sovereign, yet with a nation like the English, the command of Pius V that the faithful must renounce "Elizabeth the pretended Queen" was to have effects far other than he calculated. And King Philip predicted this to the Spanish Ambassador (who had secretly been circulating the Declaration).

"His Holiness has taken this step without communicating with me in any way, which certainly has surprised me, because *my knowledge of English affairs is such that I believe I could give a better opinion on them, and the course that ought to have been adopted, . . . than anyone else.*

"Since, however, His Holiness allowed himself to be carried away by his zeal, he no doubt thought that what he did was the only thing requisite for all to turn out as he wished, and if such were the case, I, of all the faithful sons of the Holy See, would rejoice the most. *But I fear that not only will this not be the case, but that this sudden and unexpected step will exacerbate things there, and drive the Queen and her friends the more to oppress and persecute the few good Catholics remaining in England.*"¹

Considering the wording of the Pope's Declaration, it was inevitable that the Queen took measures in her own defence. The 16th century was not an age of free speech. It was assumed that expressions of defiance were intended to be followed by actions giving effect to those expressions: as had been the case when the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland launched their Proclamation. In this last connection Her Majesty pointed a moral and formulated a warning: "*A thanksgewing for the suppression of the last rebellion,*" was printed in London in 1570: the recent "terror and daunger" being described as permitted by the Almighty "*thereby to awake us out of our dead sleep of careless security.*" The

¹ S.P. Spanish (Simancas) Cal: 1569-78. p. 254.

From the Protestant point of view see "*Brutum Fulmen: or the Bull of Pope Pius V. Concerning the Damnation, Excommunication, and Deposition of Q. Elizabeth, As also the Absolution of her Subjects of their Oath of Allegiance, with a Peremptory Injunction, upon Pain of Anathema, never to Obey any of her Laws or Commands. With some Observations and Animadversions upon it, By Thomas Lord Bishop of Lincoln. Whereto is Annex'd the Bull of Pope Paul the Third, Containing the Damnation, Excommunication etc. of King Henry VIII. The Second Edition. London, Printed by S. Roycrosse for Robert Clavel at the Peacock in St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCLXXXI.*"

The Epistle is addressed to all readers "Protestant or Papist, Courteous or Censorious." (Pope Pius V's pronouncement is printed in Latin and English in double columns, pp. 1-6. Commentary, pp. 7-214. *Damnatio . . . Henrici VIII.* pp. 215-230. Summary of Contents, pp. 231; and 5 unnumbered pages.)

The Bishop argues that it was doubly superfluous to excommunicate Queen Elizabeth, first because there had already been Pope Paul IV's general anathema against any "*Counts, Barons, Dukes, Kings and Emperors*" who might be heretical. Secondly that as Queen Elizabeth had been born and baptised a Protestant, she did not belong to the Pope's flock and so could not logically be expelled from it. (pp. 170-173). We may add, however, that she had conformed under Queen Mary.

"terrible executions justly inflicted" on the offenders, are touched upon; and as to the attempted Civil War, God is congratulated upon having

"given the victorie to thy servant our Queene, her true nobilitie and faythful subjects, with so little, or rather no effusion of Christian blood"; and it is hoped "that we being warned" by the late troubles, may be virtuous accordingly; and deserve again to be protected by Heaven from "other invasions, rebellions and daungers"

But in June the intelligence from Spain made "other invasions" seem likely in the near future. King Philip had ordered at Malaga the making of provision for 100 ships, and 150 galleys; also for 50,000 Foot soldiers, and 7000 Horse, for service against "the foes of Christendom." The charges were to be borne jointly by the Pope and His Majesty, but it was not publicly known whether these forces would be employed against Turks or Protestants. Four gunpowder mills at Malaga were continually at work. "The talk that burst out amongst them of Spain" showed an "infected malice to England," and a "vehement presumption" of intent to attack our country when opportunity could be devised.²

Further information the same month was brought by Nicholas Smyth of Totnes, who had been a prisoner in Valencia for fifteen months. The "war with the Morescos" (the rebellion of the Moors of Granada) arose from "the great vexations and troubles" caused by the Inquisition. Rumour had it also that some of the Spanish nobility at the Court were Protestants, and that the "Marqués de Poso," had been slain by night on the suspicion of heresy.

The clerical party were said to be the most desirous of an open breach between Spain and England; and "feigned letters" directed to the Earl of Leicester and other Privy Councillors had been sent from Spain to Flanders to encourage the disaffected English refugees.³

These forgeries are not now to be found; but there were genuine letters carried to the Netherlands by George, Lord Seton, from the few Scots peers of Queen Mary's party. That they besought the Duke of Alba to deliver her from captivity⁴ becomes the more significant when we see that she with her own hand wrote to him from Chatsworth "*ce viii de Octobre*," introducing a messenger whom she hoped he would not send back without some reassurance and promise of aid, as upon his help her salvation must depend.⁵

What the Duke answered we do not know; but when he gave audience to the

¹ A.D. 1570. In extenso in "*The Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth*," ed: Canon W. Benham, 1911. App: VI. pp. 226-7.

² Cal: S.P.D.E. 9, No. 1057. pp. 282-283.

³ Cal: S.P.D.E. 9. No. 1058. p. 283. The using by conspirators of the names of loyal Englishmen without their consent or knowledge should be noticed. It was repeated later, with grave results.

⁴ Cal: S.P.D.E. 9. No. 1227. p. 329.

⁵ Facsimile, Lámina XVI; facing p. 170, "*Catálogo de las Colecciones expuestas en las vitrinas del Palacio de Liria. Le publica La Duquesa de Berwick y de Alba, Condesa de Siruela*. 1891, pp. 193-194. Madrid, 1898. (And see "*Documentos Escogidos*," 1891, pp. 193-194). In a P.S. the Q. of Scots refers to two Councillors, "mester Cessiles" and "Mester Mildmay" (i.e. Sir W^m. Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay) being sent to her from the Queen.

English Ambassador, Henry Cobham, he listened courteously to a description of Queen Elizabeth's displeasure at the conduct of Pope Pius; and he promised to punish a friar in Antwerp who had used unseemly language about Her Majesty.¹

Cobham's next mission the same year was as Ambassador Extraordinary to King Philip's brother-in-law the Emperor Maximilian II; to whom he complained that the Pope's Anathema had been conveyed through the Spanish Ambassador to a "dissolute" English subject who had publicly set it up in London.² Denouncing to the Emperor the "insolent pride" of the Pope, Cobham declared that if the presumption of this "Bishop of Rome" were tolerated in regard to so outrageous a proclamation against a Christian Princess, Pius V might thereby be encouraged to "aspire to trouble with his poison" even the greatest Potentates in Christendom.

The Emperor said that having seen a copy of the Anathema at Prague, he had rebuked the Nuncio; who assured him that the Pope meant to call it in. Cobham was gratified that the Emperor used "*sharp words*" of the Pope, and said that the clergy would be wiser if they lived like the Apostles. His Imperial Majesty added that if he required to march on Rome he would not lack confederates. (The last march on Rome had been under the Duke of Alba. But Protestants now forget what all men then remembered: that it was no heretic who had held Paul IV his prisoner, but the head of a great Catholic house.)

In 1570 the Emperor's daughter the Archduchess Elisabeth was betrothed to King Charles IX of France. From Spires on the 22nd of October Cobham described to Cecil the ceremony in the Cathedral. The Emperor Maximilian and Empress Maria accompanied the bride to the altar, where the French King's deputy, the Archduke Ferdinand, delivered a ring to her in the King's name. She then presented the Archduke with another ring. After the ceremony, the company danced and feasted at a house close by.³

Previously, King Charles IX had issued a Proclamation prohibiting the Huguenots from keeping schools, holding positions in colleges, or lecturing on any art or science either in public or private.⁴ But he did not—even in view of his marriage—discard his Huguenot mistress, Marie Touchet.

Meanwhile warnings continued to reach England as to intended Spanish hostilities: from St. Jean de Luz on the 28th of December, Reynold Digby, after traversing the coast of Galicia and Biscay from port to port, notified to the Earl of Leicester that the Duke of Medinaceli and Julian Romero had sailed with eighteen ensigns.⁵

Driven back by contrary weather, these soldiers had been put ashore; but were

¹ Cal: S.P.D.E. No. 1225. p. 328; Aug: 31, 1570, describing interview of the 28th.

² Cobham to Cecil. From Spires Sep: 17, 1570. Cal: No. 1267. p. 339.

³ Ib: No. 1355. p. 360. Abstract: Cobham's list of great personages present is still unpublished.

⁴ Paris 4 Oct. 1570. Registered in the Court of Parliament 20 Nov: Cal: No. 1406. p. 371.

⁵ Ib: 1446. p. 379.

kept at the seaside ready to re-embark. Of 18 ships, nine were "great"; there was vast store of Ordnance both for battery and field, and 110 mule-loads of money and bullion. It was said that the Duke of Medinaceli was bound for Flanders, the intention being that he should embark the Duke of Alba with the veteran garrisons of Flanders; and so go into Scotland, thence to "trouble Her Majesty" in divers ways too hazardous to write.¹

The continued menace from Spain accounts for Secretary Cecil's pressing of negotiations for Queen Elizabeth's marriage with the Duke of Anjou, the victor of Moncontour. The statement made by Corbett in "*The Successors of Drake*," 1900, that Cecil "always distrusted the French alliance" is the less explicable in that since 1874 the Calendar of State Papers for 1569-71 had been in print; and not even the brevity of the epitomes disguises the fact that Sir William Cecil was not the opposer but the author of the French alliance. His argument on behalf of the marriage with "Monsieur" was that "*the Pope's Bulls and Excommunications*" would have less effect in the eyes of Europe if England and France were thus allied; in which case "*the Emperor and his brother*" would "*have the Queen in more estimation than for all their fair words they have had*"; also the Queen would be "*more assured of Ireland*."

He hoped to persuade the French King's brother outwardly to "conform to the religion of England" were he accepted as King Consort. Cecil aimed also at procuring the restoration of Calais.

Realising that the "popular sort" might dislike the Catholic match, he hoped they would be reassured if they understood that the nobility were "suitors to the Queen" to consent to it.²

His idea was that since the Pope declared Queen Elizabeth dethroned, the best retort would be to marry her to the brother and heir of the "*Most Christian King*" of France. But he did not intend the Duke of Anjou to play a rôle analogous to that of Philip II of Spain when King of England. In Cecil's hand a list of "*Reasonable demands to be required from Monsieur for the preservation of the religion of England in credit, and the Protestants thereof in comfort*," stipulate that though he could exercise his own religion "*within his bedchamber*," it would be requisite for him to accompany the Queen when she went to church. His chaplain would not be reprov'd, provided he did not speak against the Church of England; but all worship contrary to the Established Church must be in private.

Cecil also noted that even if the Queen should take a personal liking to the

¹ Ib.

² "*The commodities that may follow upon the marriage with the Duke of Anjou*," and "*Things needful to be fully considered*." Draft, 1570, corrected by Sir W. Cecil, pp. 2½. Clear abstract in Cal: S.P.F. 1569-71. (1874) No. 1477. pp. 383-384. This has escaped the notice of all such historians as allege Cecil to have been "hostile to the old Nobility"; or assert that Queen Elizabeth had hardly left the "ancient Aristocracy" any power.

³ Ib: No. 1478. pp. 384-385. See also 1477.

French Prince, the King of France must not be informed, lest he presume thereon, and offer conditions detrimental to Her Majesty and the realm.

Walsingham from Paris warned Cecil that the King of Spain and the Pope intended to impede the match. They meant the Duke of Anjou to be head of a new League against the Turks, which could be stretched to include "*as many as they repute to be Turks although better Christians than themselves.*" But as King Charles showed disapproval of this League, and professed attachment to England, even to the extent of being ready to form a counter-league, Walsingham was hopeful. The King, he adds, is displeased that though he offered his sister (Marguerite) in marriage to the King of Portugal (Sebastian), the reply received was that both were too young, and that some eight years hence the matter might be considered: "which disdainful answer" had affronted the Queen Mother, and "*is thought to be not without the counsel of Spain.*"¹

That the King of Portugal, Lord of the East Indies, Brazil, and the Azores, remained unmarried, was the more remarkable because there survived only one other legitimate male Prince of the dynasty of Aviz, his great-uncle Dom Henry the Cardinal.

From Paris on the 8th of February 1570-71, Walsingham reported to Secretary Cecil—in a letter which has been in print since the 17th century² but is none the less overlooked,—that he had notified to the French King how Queen Elizabeth had been informed by the Lord Deputy of Ireland that "De La Roche," a French subject, had landed troops in Ireland and had confederated with her rebels. King Charles answered he knew nothing of the sort; but that if he could learn the names of the offenders they should be punished. Wherefore Walsingham had written to Sir Henry Norris for particulars. Sir Henry sent a messenger replying that he considered the Irish enterprise had most likely been without the French King's consent or even knowledge, but prompted by the Duke of Guise; and that the Papal Nuncio had endeavoured to draw into it the Duke d'Anjou; and had threatened that if the Duke refused to countenance the undertaking, it should go forward just the same. Moreover a renegade Englishman, Thomas Stukeley, had presented to Philip of Spain a bond subscribed not only by the most part of the Irish Nobility, but "*by divers in England of good quality ready to be at his devotion.*" Scotland also was involved. Many of those who landed in Ireland were levied by the Earl of Argyll in the Spanish King's name. They had embarked from the Mull of Cantire.³

Queen Elizabeth expressed her scorn that any King or Council could give credit to Stukeley, of whom she said the less in that she could say "nothing good." As she did not allow her own actions to be affected by the pretensions of fugitive Spaniards who came into England, she did not comprehend the countenance her

¹ Paris 27 January 1570-71. Ib: 1521. p. 396: and Sir D. Digges' "*Compleat Ambassador.*" 1655.

² In "*Compleat Ambassador.*"

³ S.P. Foreign. No. 1245. pp. 401-402.

brother of Spain gave to irresponsible English. This stately and contemptuous letter was of Cecil's composing.¹

Soon there was further news of "*a certain Duke of Ireland otherwise called Master Stukeley*," as reported by "Oliver Kynge" from St. Jean de Luz, 18th February, 1570-1. King had met Stukeley in Madrid, and had been entertained by him, with "marvellous liberality," and presented with handsomer apparel than he had been wont to wear at home. Stukeley thinking thus to win him, informed him of his own intended departure into Ireland with 10,000 men; and offered him the task of undermining the forts of Dingle, Wexford and Waterford. King on refusing was denounced as villain, traitor, and "Lutheran." But a "certain Don Francisco" who had seen him go to Mass, spoke up for him. Stukeley, not able to get him put to death by the Inquisition, yet was sufficiently influential to cause him to be stripped to his shirt, and banished from Madrid, under pain of being sent to the galleys.

In much misery from hunger and cold, Oliver King had come through Navarre to St. Jean de Luz; whence he warned Cecil that a number of English traitors in France and Spain "*gape daily*" for the death of Queen Elizabeth; and that the intended invasion of Ireland is not to be by "*rascals beggarly and ill-armed like Bezonians*," but by trained men, led by old and seasoned officers. The Master of the Camp is one who was wounded in the battle of St Quentin when the Lord Harry Dudley was slain.² There are many Italian engineers; troops are gathering in Spain: and Stukeley is to be made the leader; the Spanish King all the while feigning zeal for peace.³

When Walsingham in Paris approached King Philip's Ambassador, the Count of Olivares, he denied responsibility, and took an exceedingly haughty tone.⁴ Queen Elizabeth therefore informed Walsingham that she would send a gentleman direct to the King of Spain to deal roundly and plainly with him; and in the meantime she was despatching ships and forces to Ireland in readiness for such hostile enterprise as her enemies might presume to attempt.⁵

Oliver King's story was confirmed; for although the Spanish Ambassador in France protested that Spain had nothing to do with the invasion of Ireland, the Cardinal de Chastillon (Odet de Coligny) wrote from Canterbury how a spy of his had seen at the Court of Spain certain Irish soliciting King Philip's aid; whereon the King had commissioned Julian Romero with 3000 Spaniards to go into Ireland.⁶ Moreover Stukeley had been introduced at the Court at Madrid by the Duke of Feria, former Ambassador to England; and had been lodged in a handsome house and given 6000 ducats, and a daily allowance.

¹ Ib: No. 1550. pp. 403-404. To Walsingham.

² In 1557. See Prologue, 13. ³ Ib: No. 1580. p. 406. ⁴ Ib: No. 1578. p. 411.

⁵ Ib: No. 1601. March 19, 1570-71. Draft corrected by Sir Wm. Cecil, who in Feb: had been created Lord Burghley. Printed in the 17th century by Sir Dudley Digges, in "*The Compleat Ambassador*." Hitherto overlooked evidence of Cecil's preparedness for war.

⁶ S.P. For: Cal: 1569-71. No. 1539. p. 400.

Walsingham's chief informant was the Archbishop of Cashel, who, though himself drawing from Spain a pension of 2000 ducats, was not pleased to contemplate Ireland falling into the hands of Stukeley. He therefore told King Philip that Stukeley was a "pirate," "of life dissolute, of expenses prodigal"; of no substance nor account in England, though of good birth. The King had informed him that Stukeley had brought to Spain a bond from the Irish Nobility as to their readiness to join such forces as Spain might provide for the invasion. The Archbishop answered that Stukeley had no credit with Irish noblemen, who knew him for a "shifter" and deceiver. It was not till then that King Philip revealed how Stukeley had been recommended to him by the Spanish Ambassador.

Relating this to Walsingham, the Archbishop of Cashel "made a digression," to give warning that the Ambassador was doing much harm in England: a fact "*not learnt by hearsay but by the sight of his letters.*"

Anxious to see the Catholic religion prevail in Ireland, the Archbishop of Cashel protested he nevertheless did not wish Ireland, with England and Wales, to be annexed by the King of Spain.¹ Though Walsingham suspected the prelate of double dealing, the point emerging is how thoroughly Queen Elizabeth and her Ministers were cognisant of the need to stand in perpetual readiness to defend her realms; for the Spanish King's professions of peace were understood by Walsingham and Cecil as an intended prelude to war. Hence the calling of Parliament on the 2nd of April, 1571, to vote a subsidy for conserving the peace by announcing to the world an intention to resist all adversaries, whether foreign or "domestical."

"Her Majesty about eleven of the clock came towards Westminster . . . in her Coach, in her Imperial Robes, and a Wreath or Coronet of Gold, set with rich Pearl and Stones. . . . Next after her Chariot followed the Earl of Leicester, in respect of his Office of the Master of the Horse. . . . And then forty-seven Ladies and Women of Honour; The Guard in their rich Coats going on every side of them; The Trumpeters before the first, sounding; and the Heralds riding. . . ."

After a sermon from the Bishop of Lincoln, the Queen entered the House of Lords and took her seat on the throne.

The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Sir Nicholas Bacon, went to the point at once: the preservation of Crown and Country.

The "Livings, Liberties, and Lives" of the subjects being at stake, both Houses were asked to consider the expenses that had been incurred, "in suppressing the late Northern Rebellion"; in overcoming the Scots who had "assisted the rebels"; and in protecting Ireland during the attempted invasion; also in keeping Her Majesty's Navy at a fit strength to ensure the safe conducting of English "*wares and merchandises*" further from home than heretofore attempted.

Contrasting the miseries of war with the blessings of peace,—"*Peace, the mark and end that all good Governments direct their actions unto,*"—the Lord Keeper

¹ Ib: 1624. pp. 422-423; and "*The Compleat Ambassador.*" 1655.

² D'Ewes, pp. 136-137.

put his audience in mind of the plain duty of every Englishman to contribute, according to his power, to the safety of his Sovereign, Country and family. The Speaker said the same; and the "good and loving subjects" formed a Committee to consider how best to raise the money.¹

This was the Parliament in which Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Member for Plymouth, objected to any "derogation of the prerogative Imperial": it was for the Queen to command, and for subjects to obey. But Mr. Wentworth considered Sir Humphrey had a "disposition to flatter"; and Mr. Aglionby argued that as to matters of religion "the Conscience of Man is eternal, invisible, and not in the power of the greatest Monarchy in the world." Mr. Norton said they must "acknowledge the Queen to be Queen," no matter what the Pope had declared to the contrary.

Laws were passed against the bringing in of Papal Bulls, and against the attempting by subjects to decide who should be the Queen's successor. The children of Sir Thomas Wyatt were restored in blood; and the Catholics were most drastically restrained.²

The Subsidy, for Maintenance of the Navy and general defence of the Realm, being duly voted, the Queen, after commending the "benevolence" of her subjects,—and giving the Royal Assent to 28 public Acts and 13 private,—dissolved Parliament, on the 29th of May, after an eight weeks session.

¹ Despite Sir Nicholas Bacon's eulogy of brevity, ("*a few words do suffice*,") and Mr. Robert Newdigate's admonition that as the Subsidy was the main reason for calling Parliament it should be settled without delay, there were some "needless long speeches" from various Members. See D'Ewes, *Journals*, &c. H. of Commons, pp. 155-190.

² 13th Eliz: (1.) "All that obtain . . . any Bull of Absolution or Reconciliation from the Church of Rome, or Absolve, or be Absolved thereby, both they and their Accessories before the Fact, shall be adjudged Guilty of High Treason to the Queen and the Realm.

(2.) "Their Comforters and Maintainers shall incur a *Praemunire*; and their Concealers misprision of Treason, unless within six weeks they discover them to some Privy Counsellor, &c.

(3.) "If any bring into the Queens Dominion any *Agnus Dei*, Crosses, Pictures, Beads, . . . or offer the same to any person, . . . the person so doing, and the person receiving . . . shall incur *Praemunire*" . . . unless in three days the name of the person is disclosed to a J.P.

(4.) "The Justice of the Peace shall disclose the Offences aforesaid to the Privy Counsel within fourteen dayes after notice to him, upon pain of *Praemunire*."

"*An Abstract of all the Penal-Laws Now in Force against . . . Popish Recusants. Collected for the ease of Justices of the Peace, and others who are obliged to put the Laws in Execution. London, Printed for John Starkey at the Mitre in Fleet-street, MDCLXXIX.*" pp. 4-5. (Beginning with 1st Eliz: Cap. 1, 1559-9; and extending to 25 Carol. 2.)

PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION 4.

“England an Asylum for the Damned.”

(*The last years of Odet, Cardinal de Chastillon, 1570-1571*).

“ . . . mon Odet, Prelat, a qui ne faut
Rien presenter, si le present n'est haut,
De bonne estoffe, et de valour semblable
A la vertu qui le rend admirable.”

“*A Odet de Colligny, Cardinal de Chastillon*”:

“*Les Hymnes de P. de Ronsard. . . . A Paris. . . . 1555. Avec Priuelege du Roy.*”

“ . . . Odet Castillon the brother of the Admiral of France, a man hitherto respected for noble ancestry, had given up his faith and piety, and fled to England as to an Asylum for the Damned”

From the Latin, “*Flores Calvinistici*.” *Naples*. 1585(6).
(A libel against the English Queen and Court.)

“I can truly say, Madame, that my spirit and heart will remain enslaved to you ; and no matter where I go it will be to serve God, and to pray ceaselessly, Madame, for the prosperity and greatness of your person and State.”

“*Madame de Chastillon to y^e Q(ueen)s Ma^{tie},*” 28 May 1571. (From Orig: French. P.R.O. State Papers France, 118, 1162.)

LES
H Y M N E S
DE P. DE RONSARD,
VANDOMOIS:

A TRESILLUSTRE ET REVE-
RENDISSIME, ODET, CARDINAL
de Chastillon.

33



A PARIS,
Ches André Wechel rue S. Iehan de Beauuais
à l'enfeigne du Cheual volant.

1555.

Auec Priuilege du Roy.

Title-page of first edition of Ronsard's "*Hymnes*,"
dedicated to the Cardinal de Chastillon.

Quarto, 100 ff. B.M. 839. i. 2 (1).

See also "Catalogue d'une Collection unique des Editions Originales de Ronsard,"
Maggs Bros., London and Paris, 1925.

THE BROTHERS DE COLIGNY-CHASTILLON:

From the original in the Mauritshuis at the Hague:

Artist unknown. Catalogued as "*Maitre inconnu de l'Ecole française: Portraits des 3 frères de Chatillon (Coligny):*

Le Cardinal Odet; l'Amiral Gaspard; le Colonel-General François."

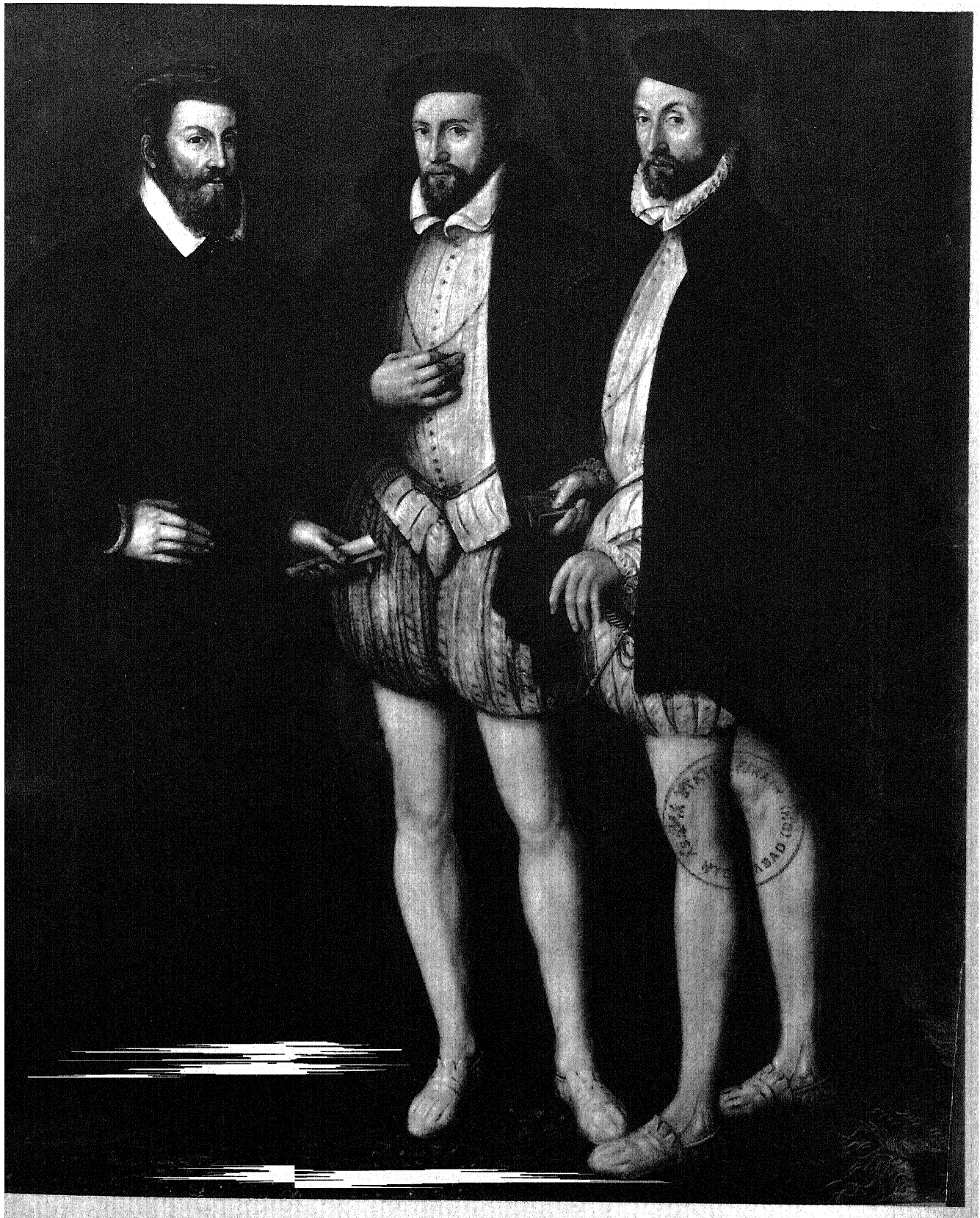
(Photograph: Braun. Paris and Donnach).

This fine picture seems not to have been reproduced before in any English publication.

The embassy of Cardinal de Chastillon to Queen Elizabeth from Queen Jeanne of Navarre and her son and their adherents, and the mysterious circumstances of the Cardinal's death, are now examined. Retrospective libels, and later random allegations based thereon, are at last analysed, and compared with contemporary MSS.

Though certain relevant letters of Sir William Cecil, the Earl of Leicester, and Sir Thomas Smith, were printed in the mid 17th century, they have escaped the notice of commentators upon the position of Cardinal de Chastillon at the English Court. The official enquiry into the particulars of his last illness, and the suspicions of "the Lady Castillon" against the French servants, are here published for the first time.

Various letters erstwhile only available in calendar-epitomes are given from the originals.



(a) *JEANNE D'ALBRET, QUEEN OF NAVARRE:*

from whom the Cardinal de (Coligny) Chastillon came as Ambassador Extraordinary to Queen Elizabeth.

Drawing by François Clouet. Now in the Bibliothèque Nationale: there conjecturally dated 1570.

(Photograph: A. Giraudon, No. 11448).

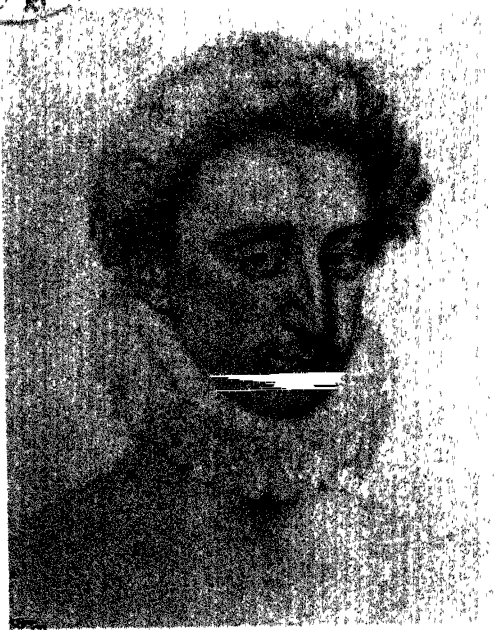
(b) *HENRY, DUKE OF ANJOU: subsequently King of Poland, and of France from a drawing ascribed to François Quesnel, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

(Photograph: A. Giraudon, No. 1429).

(c) *HENRY, KING OF NAVARRE, in youth:*

from a drawing ascribed to François Quesnel, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

(Photograph: A. Giraudon, No. 11593).



PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION 4.

“England an Asylum for the Damned.”

(*The last years of Odet, Cardinal de Chastillon, 1569-71*).

WE will often have cause to deplore the breaking up of the Earl of Leicester's collection of portraits of his contemporaries and their immediate predecessors; for his galleries at Kenilworth Castle, Wanstead Place, and Leicester House included foreign foes as well as friends and allies, and formed a panorama of 16th century history.

In the Inventories made in 1588 after Leicester's death, (when the Queen ruthlessly insisted upon all his treasures being offered for sale), among the pictures at Wanstead was “*The Cardinal Shatillon*,” also “*His Wyfe*”; and at Leicester House “*One of the Cardinale Shatillian*.”¹

If the general reader asks “Who was ‘the Cardinale Shatillian’ and how came he to have a wife?”, the man of letters will reply, “Surely this was Cardinal Odet de Chastillon, to whom Ronsard dedicated “*L'Hymne de La Philosophie*,” and “*Vers Heroiques*”:

“*Mon Odet, mon Prelat, mon Seigneur, mon Comfort,
Mon renom, mon honneur, ma gloire, mon support,
Ma Muse, mon Phebus, qui fait ma plume escrire,
Qui animes ma langue, et reveilles ma Lyre.*”²

As one of the earliest patrons of Ronsard, the Cardinal de Chastillon keeps a

¹ Inventories: in extenso, “*Notes and Queries*,” 3rd Ser: Vol. II. pp. 224-226.

² “*Œuvres Complètes de Ronsard*,” ed: Hugues Vagany, 1924. Tome 6. p. 223.

place in the memory of Frenchmen even now; for Ronsard sung to all the world his admiration for "*tous les Chastillons*":

". . . je suis tenu
*A vous Prélat, qui d'un simple incognu
 M'avez aymé, outre mon espérance:
 C'est pour cela, qu'au Theatre de France
 De mieux-en-mieux tousjours je publieray
 Des Chastillons l'honneur que j'escriray
 En cent papiers pour le rendre admirable.*
 . . . Odet, de qui pend l'espérance
 Non de moy seul, mais des muses de France."¹

The "French Apollo"—who in 1569 pictured the corpses of heretics as food for the crows, and their souls sinking to the depths of Hades,²—did not in 1555 foresee that the Cardinal de Chastillon would throw in his lot with those whom the Church so rigorously condemned; or that he would settle in England under the patronage of the heretical Queen, whom Pope Pius V, by Bull and Declaration, was to pronounce unfit to reign.

The fervent admiration of Ronsard for the Coligny brothers, his delight in the glory of their ancient name, and the further renown they all three brought to it, is easy to understand when we see their portrait painted together in the prime of their vigour.³ It was to the Cardinal's brother "Gaspar de Colligny, Seigneur de Chastillon," Grand Admiral of France, that Ronsard dedicated "*L'Hymne de Pollux et de Castor*,"

"pour vivement semer
*De Vostre beau renom les terres et la mer,
 Ce n'est pas un fardeau si léger que l'on pense
 De bien chanter les faits d'un Admiraux de France,
 Décrire ses valeurs, ses assauts et combats:
 Il n'y a de la peine, et tout homme n'a pas
 Le coeur assez hardy . . .*"⁴

Here again was no foreshadowing of the end. The poet was happy,

"*Celebrant vos combats, et tout vostre linage,
 Qui suis affecté vostre, aquis par les faveurs
 De vostre frère Odet l'un de mes bons Seigneurs.*"

The brilliant Odet de Chastillon, whose Cardinal's hat dated from his teens, recoiled at last in 1561 from the measures planned and perpetrated by the Cardinal de

¹ "*Prière à la Fortune. A très illustre et Reverendissime Cardinal de Chastillon*" (Hymes, Livre II. 1555). (op: cit, pp. 231-239).

Also in "*Le Second Livre des Meslanges de Pierre de Ronsard Vandomoy. A Paris . . . 1559*," (f.3. r). "*Elegie à Monseigneur le Révérendissime cardinal de Chatillon*" in the same volume as the poem to Mary Queen of Scots, "*A la Roynie d'Escosse, L'Angleterre et l'Ecosse et de la Française terre.*" (f.26. v).

² "*Hymne sur la Victoire à Moncontour.*" ("*Premier Livre des Hymnes*").

³ *Portrait at the Mauritshuis, catalogued as by a "maitre inconnu, de l'Ecole française."* Now reproduced for the first time in England (ante).

⁴ Op: cit, p. 117.

Lorraine and others of the House of Guise. Breaking away politically from the Church of his fathers, and renouncing his rich Bishopric of Beauvais, he also took a wife, Ysabel (or Elizabeth) de Hauteville; who so loved and admired him that whatsoever he did seemed right in her eyes.

His first visit to the Court of England, in the autumn of 1568, is described by Principal Secretary Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, Resident Ambassador in France. By the Queen's order, the guest was being "very well and courteously used here," Cecil wrote on the 1st of October from Windsor Castle, adding "The Cardinal Castillons wife is come over, whom I think the Queen means to use very well."

On the 28th he reported to Norris "The French Ambassador . . . this morning . . . sent his Nephew to me, declaring . . . he perceived much favor shewed by us to the King his master's Rebels . . .

"I required of him, whom, in particular, he could name as Rebels, that had favour of us? *He would name none.* I told him we accepted the Cardinal Chastillon as a Nobleman, and a good faithful subject and Councillor to the King"; but that by "inveterate malice done to him by the Cardinal of Lorrain, he was by him and his so persecuted as he could not live in France without danger of his life. And I told him we had the more cause to favor him and all such, because the said Cardinal Lorrain was well known to be an open enemy to the Queen's Majesty, our Sovereign. *So he departed, with no small misliking; and I well contented to utter some round speeches.*

"The Queens Majesty is resolved to set out certain of our Ships to Britain(y) and Guyen, to preserve our Bordeaux Fleets from depredations." Norris in France may expect remonstrances from the French: "*But considering the frequent Piracies already committed, and the menacing of the Pyrets to our Bordeaux Fleet, we can do no other; and so you may answer.*"

In Cecil's next letter to Norris, undated, and partly in cipher, he repeats that as the Queen's subjects are continually robbed by the French upon the seas, she "is forced to send Mr Winter, . . . *with 4 Ships of her Majesties, and two Barkes. I know many tales will be spred of his going; but truly you may avow that his going is wholly to preserve our Fleet at Bordeaux*" from the pirates.²

"The Cardinal Chastillon showeth himself so quiet a person, and in all his languages so faithful a servant of the King his Master, as he meriteth great commendations; he medleth in nothing here, but [is] wholly occupied in exercise of his Religion; he continually lamenteth that grave Councillors persuading peace are not of more power and credit in the Court" (meaning the French Court, for

¹ "*Scrinia Ceciliana . . . Letters of the late Famous Lord Burghley*," 1663. p. 142.

² The next sentence is in cipher. "Many tales" are spread in our own day, when these expeditions are often miscalled "privateering," a word not coming into our language till the era of the Stuarts; and in any case not applicable to the operations conducted in the Queen's ships.

England in 1568 was not at war). "*Whatsoever this French Ambassador shall report of him, he cannot truly report any evil of him.*"

To understand the circumstances in which Cardinal de Chastillon was soon afterwards appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of England from the Queen of Navarre and her son King Henry, we must look at the main points of the Bond of Association between these Royal personages and certain Huguenot aristocrats, drawn up in the form of a Declaration, "*le dix^{me} Januier lan Mil Cinq cent soixant neuf.*"² It consists of eleven and a half closely written pages, beginning with the titles of those mainly concerned:³

"Jeanne, by the Grace of God Queen of Navarre, Sovereign Lady of Bearn, and of the territory of Donessen, Duchess of Albret and of Nemours, of Gandye, of Mont Blanc and of Pennifel; Lady of the city of Ballagher, Countess of Foix, of Bigorre, of Armagnac, Roddez, and of Perigord, Vicountess of Marsan Tursan.

Henry, Prince of Navarre, Duke of Vendome, and of Beaumont, First Peer of France, Count of Meole, Baron d'Espernon, and of Mont doubleaie, Blonbriou and Aurilly, Lord of Doizy, Dehain, Bohaun, Bearevoir, Vendeuil, Danguyen in Flanders; Governor, Lieutenant General, and Admiral for the King in these counties and in the Duchy of Guyenne.

Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, Governor and Lieutenant General for his Majesty in Picardy.

*Henry de Bourbon, Duke of Enghien,*⁴

Gaspard de Coligny [Chastillon] Admiral of France.

Francis, Count de la Rochefoucault, Prince of Marsillac,

Francis de Coligny, Count de Montfort, Lord Andelot, Colonel-General of the French [Foot]."

"To all to whom this pertains, Greeting":

Hearing of the "*complotz*" agreed upon at the Council of Trent, and of the expeditions into Bayonne, Lorraine and Picardy there determined upon, to expel

"all Princes, Lords, Captains, Gentlemen and others making profession of the Reformed Religion," and knowing that the Council of Trent desired and intended to have them not only driven out from France but from England, Scotland "*et autres regions,*" "... and seeing the murders, massacres, and assassinations . . . and violences of oppression, which with impunity are daily committed against those of the Reformed Religion, on the strength of letters and declarations sent out in the King's name,"

Queen Jeanne and her son, and those associated with them, protest especially against the manner in which "*la Royne Mère*" and the brothers of the King, the Dukes of Anjou and Alençon in the districts they are supposed to control, permit violation of the promises of protection previously given.

As "*par les Edicts de pacification l'exercice de la religion avoit esté . . . accordé,*" the ignoring of that pacification—combined with other circumstances such as the conduct of the Inquisition in Flanders and the latest "*bulle*" of the Pope,—

¹ Ib: p. 145.

² The quotations here are either from matter in our State Papers Foreign, unpublished (except in a few instances in very brief epitome); or if printed not hitherto translated.

³ Difficult to read: Copy S.P. Foreign. (S.P.70) Vol. CV. ff. 76^a-81. No. 36. (ref: changed: calendared S.P.F. 1569-71, as 1742, No. 37). Wrongly described in *Calendar* as a "*Commission*" to the Cardinal Chastillon. It is the Proclamation of the Queen of Navarre and her Associates, as sent to all Protestant Princes. The order to "*Monsieur le Cardinal de Chastillon*" only comes at the end (f. 81).

⁴ Duc Danguyen.

are sufficient witness not only of the malicious designs of their enemies but the beginning of the execution of those designs.

The word of the King having been pledged—" *la foy et parolle de nostre Roy Jurée solemnellement en Iceulx edicts de pacification*,"—they cannot reconcile His Majesty's "peace" with the outrages they see "daily with their own eyes." Pointing out that they are surrounded by their opponents' troops, the leaders of which had "boasted to foreign Princes of having them as in a cage,"—reminding the world that, thus menaced, they had appealed anew to the King,—emphasising that they did not themselves keep large Companies of armed men for aggression, but only small forces for protection, they announce that as the Edict of Peace was broken, not on their side but on the King's, they are compelled to take measures of defence.

Being informed that in spite of the King's promises of protection, and his acceptance of the services of some of their co-religionists in his Household, he has now deprived these servants of their estates, they ascribe this breach of faith to the influence of the Cardinal de Lorraine; for they are unwilling to think the King and the chief Princes of the Blood can have desired to override the Treaty.

Nevertheless as the Treaty has been violated, the inference is that the King is not master in his own kingdom. They therefore assemble to deliver His Majesty and his officers out of subjection to the Cardinal de Lorraine and his accomplices, who now control "*tous les estats . . . de ce royaume . . .*"

Impelled by necessity, all men in the Kingdom who are of the "*Religion Reformée*" feel it their duty to call to their aid such foreign Kings and Princes as are "*affectionnez a la cau(s)e de Dieu et au bien de ceste coronne*."

As their foes in effort to crush them, form leagues, confederacies and associations, they have decided to appeal by letters and Ambassadors to "*tous roys Princes et seigneurs faisant profession de la religion reformée*"—and well affected to the King of France—to unite themselves in a "*sainte alliance . . . resister . . . aux complotz et entreprises que plusieurs ennemyes de Dieu . . . ont projecté contre eulx*."

(That each side treats its opposites as "enemies of God" we shall see throughout this contest. But a promise is a promise, by whatever Church it be made, so the Huguenots had solid reason for recourse to arms; namely that the pledge of the "most Christian King" for their protection had been set at naught).

In that they have "often had experience" of the zeal and affection of the Queen of England, she having helped them hitherto by all means in her power, they find it expedient to select a personage "*de la qualité et grandeur*" suitable to supplicate Her Majesty "in the name of God"; and likewise they send to the Princes of Germany and Scotland, and the Swiss Lords, that the said potentates may unite to prevent the overthrow and extinction of the Reformed Church, and oppose the enterprise "*que plusieurs Princes et seigneurs de la religion romain ont faicte . . .*"¹

¹ f. 80^b. They do not here call themselves Huguenot or Protestant, but only "reformés."

Alluding in the usual Huguenot fashion to the Pope as "Anti-Christ," they pass from general principles to a particular authorisation to "*Monsieur le Cardinal de Chastillon*" (as they still call him) to plead at the Court of England for "*ceste sainte armée*." He is to ask for Horse, Foot, Artillery, powder, munition, and "*vaisseaulx de mer Armez*."¹

Into the particulars of Chastillon's work we need not enter: for it was the usual business of an Ambassador, all communications from Queen Jeanne and King Henry of Navarre going through him; likewise all petitions of refugees, and requests for powder for Rochelle, shoes for soldiers and much else.²

After the suppression of the Northern Rising in November 1569, though Pope Pius V launched his counterblast against Elizabeth the "pretended Queen" whose laws were not to be obeyed, and whose "heretical adherents" were anathematised with herself, her Huguenot allies were little daunted. And before Midsummer 1570 the renowned La Noue sent from Rochelle to Cardinal Chastillon a description of a successful enterprise he had carried out, in good hope that the martial vigour of those "of the Religion" would soon cause the King (Charles IX) to repent his broken promises, and grant reasonable terms of peace.³

From Windsor on the 4th and 5th of October 1570 the Privy Council sent letters to John Hawkins and William Hawkins "to cause the new barke under their charge to be brought to Southampton for the wafting over of the Cardinal Chastillon into France . . ."⁴

Soon he was back in England; and he and "the Lady Chastillon" were settled at Canterbury, where there were already many French refugees. Previously in April the Cardinal had been permitted by Queen Elizabeth to give Letters of Marque to an English Captain, Stephen Hely;⁵ and though her aid to the Huguenots was less than they hoped, it was not without influence upon the situation: for the "Most Christian King" of France did not wish to have too active an enemy near home: and the subsequent peace transactions of Walsingham were to be facilitated by consciousness on the part of King Charles IX and his mother that England could be troublesome.

When Walsingham and Sir Thomas Smith subsequently were negotiating with France in 1571-2, they believed that the prospective marriage between the King's sister Marguerite de Valois and Henry of Navarre would secure for the Huguenots a permanent footing in the State.

¹ f.81.

² Many letters, briefly noted in Cal: S.P. Foreign, 1569-71.

³ 20 June. Ib. No. 1023. p. 274.

⁴ Acts of the P.C. On 20 Aug: 1570 occurs (p. 384) a warrant to W^m Hawkins, gent, for payment of £120 for preparation of 3 ships for the Queen's service.

⁵ Dated at Westminster. Ib: 215.

This match was much "bruted" as a solution of the troubles; and the prowess of La Noue and other Huguenot warriors made the French King's consent to the alliance more likely than had the Huguenots submissively endured the breaking of the previous Treaty. The return of Cardinal de Coligny-Chastillon to France therefore appeared by no means impossible.

On the 26th of March, 1571, from the Court, Lord Leicester wrote to his "loving friend Mr Francis Walsingham, Ambassador Resident for the Queen's Majesty in France."

"Your wife was here lately to take her leave of Her Majesty, who used her very well and graciously. I pray you let us hear as often as you can conveniently. *I would gladly understand some good for the poor Cardinal Chastillon . . .*"

Cardinal Chastillon was then ill at Canterbury. On his way back from London earlier in the month he had been stricken with fever at Rochester. On the 11th March, from Canterbury, Henry Killigrew had written "To the Right Honorable my singuler good lord my Lorde of Burghley one of her Ma^{ties} pryvy Counsell":²

"This Sunday morning by VI of the clock I received your Lordship's letter and delivered the Queen's Majesty's packet to Mrs Walsingham, who willed me to present her . . . commendations . . . unto your good Lordship. . . Yesterday after our arrival I went to visit my Lord Cardinal, but he was then in his fourth fit, so as I could neither see him nor his wife. Towards night he sent for me, whom I found weak and faint: and therefore did but salute him with hearty commendations from some of his friends.

This morning Mrs Walsingham goeth to visit my Lord Cardinal's wife before she go to Dover:³ from whom she received yesternight a present of two bottles of wine to her supper. By Dr Pena I perceive that his sickness is not without danger, the rather for that, in his conceit, it is accompanied with much melancholy: whereof at my return from Dover I shall enquire farther; and in this meanwhile commit your good Lordship to God's tuition.

At Cantuar 11 of March, by your good lordships most humbly to command

H. KYLLYGREW."

The Cardinal's fever ran its course; and abated. Restoration to health seemed near. Then suddenly he died; and the "Lady Chastillon" was convinced he had been poisoned.

When so eminent a personage as the Ambassador from the Queen of Navarre came to his end on English soil, after a comparatively short illness, an examination into the circumstances was imperative.

The official report of this enquiry has not been consulted by any of the writers who refer to the case. It will be here published for the first time. But before coming to the authentic matter, we must look at what has been accepted in its place.

One of the worst defamers of character, who, in the reign of James the First, put venom on paper for the deception of posterity, was Sir Robert Naunton; who, when all the great Elizabethans were dead, and he had a free field for his malice,

¹ "The Compleat Ambassador," London 1655. Ed: Sir Dudley Digges. p. 51.

² Orig: S.P.D.E. 77. No. 26. End: "11 March 1570"(71) "Mr. H. Killigrew to my L." Spelling now modernised.

³ Mrs. Walsingham was on her way to her husband in Paris.

set down what he called his "*Fragmenta Regalia*." These jottings, though inconsequent, ill-written, and often spiteful, have been many times reprinted; and the editors, instead of correcting the errors, have amplified them, by seeking out such kindred gossip as they could accumulate from matter even less reputable.

Naunton's first political employment was as a foreign agent and correspondent to Leicester's stepson, whose patronage was the ladder by which he climbed into the great world towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Ungrateful and mercenary, he magnified himself, and grossly misrepresented both Leicester and Essex. His statement that Leicester died under "a cloude" is often echoed; though actually Leicester died at the height of fame and honour in 1588 as Lieutenant-General of the Army, Lord Steward of the Household; the Queen's trusted adviser, second only to Lord Burghley in her favour,—if second to any. But Naunton alleges him to have lost his life "*as it is supposed by that poyson which he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare artist.*"

Who were the "*others*" and "*they*" is not explained: but the editor of the 1824 reprint, instead of stating that the notion of Leicester as a "poysoner" is ridiculous,—and was first set about in one of the most outrageous foreign-printed diatribes ever penned, a production not believed by any intelligent person at the time,—proceeded instead to offer the following note:

"He was accused of poisoning Thomas Earl of Sussex, Walter Earl of Essex . . . Lord Sheffield, the Cardinal Chatillon, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Lady Lennox, Mrs Alice Draycot, and many others. *It was facetiously* observed that 'his lordship hath a speciall fortune . . . that what person soever stand in his way hath the luck to die quickly . . . and for his art of poisoning it is such now, and reacheth so far, as he holdeth all his foes in England, and elsewhere, and also a good manie of his friends, in feare thereof: and if it were knowne how manie he hath dispatched or assaulted that way it would be marvellous to posterity.' *Leycester's Commonwealth*, pages 22-28, and see *ibid* p. 174."¹

Instead of setting side by side with this quotation from a very vile libel of 1584, as republished in 1641, the statements of the Privy Council in 1585 as to the lies it contained against Leicester, and the Queen's observations thereon to the Lord Mayor of London, the editor adds from another anonymous source what he calls a "valuable note": namely an elaborately filthy story about Lord and Lady Leicester, which would long since have been gibbeted as it deserves, had any editor preferred reality before fabrication and sound psychology before monstrous and grotesque scandals.

The alleged poisoning of Cardinal de Chastillon by Leicester—who had many political reasons for wishing him long life—figures in a booklet called "*Flores Calvinistici*," in which Leicester is classed with Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Latimer,—both burnt at the stake in Queen Mary's day,—and held up simultaneously as a "flower of Calvinism" and as a villain of the most atrocious

¹ Editorial note to "*Fragmenta Regalia. Memoirs of Elizabeth her Court and Favourites. By Sir Robert Naunton . . . a new edition with Notes . . . Printed for Charles Baldwyn MDCCCXXIV*," pp. 43-44.

kind, to whom poison and assassination, with "witchcraft," adultery, and high treason were mere every-day diversions: it being stated that such were the habitual pastimes of Calvinists.

This publication we will analyse when we come to the year 1585, when it appeared with license in Naples, dedicated in verse to Alexander Prince of Parma, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, then commanding an army in the field against Lord Leicester, who was Governor General for the Protestants in the revolted Provinces of the Low Countries.

In the Dictionary of National Biography, the point of "*Flores Calvinistici*" being published at Naples appears to be missed: "*'The cōpye of a Letter . . . the . . . libel usually quoted as 'Leicester's Commonwealth' . . . was first printed probably at Antwerp in 1584; it appeared in a French translation 'La Vie Abominable, . . . 1585,' and in a Latin version by Julius Briegerus at Naples in 1585 as 'Flores Calvinistici' . . .'*"

But to quote the libel "usually" as "*Leicester's Commonwealth*" is an anachronism, for it was never so called till 1641;¹ and what is not clear in this Bibliographical Note is that whereas the English and French versions had been anonymous, lacking name of publisher, or place of publication, the most venomous libel of all, purporting to be based on English and French evidence, *but not mentioning the other libels*, was issued not only with name of author, printer, and place of printing, *but with royal license*, in Naples,—of which Philip II was King.

This licensing of a farrago of slanders against one who had fought for King Philip in the French war of 1557-58, and the fact that the outrageous "*Flores Calvinistici*" is dedicated to King Philip's nephew who was hoping to invade and conquer England, should no longer be ignored.

Readers of "*Leicester's Commonwealth*," 1641, have not been aware that "Dr Julio" therein alleged to be Lord Leicester's private physician and the brewer of poisons which Leicester is described as habitually administering to any who might cross his ambitions, had not been in Leicester's household but in the Queen's. And it now appears that Dr Julio invoked in that libel in 1584 as if still alive and an active poisoner, had been dead three years² before this assertion of his criminal services to "Dudley" was circulated from Paris by two English refugees in the pay of their country's foes.

Many persons have supposed that "evidence" must exist for the assertion that Leicester did not scruple to remove by poison all who stood in his way; and credulity reached its extreme of absurdity when one of our 19th century men of

¹ Vol. XVI. 1888. p. 121: article Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester by S.L.L. (Sir Sidney L. Lee). D.N.B. overlooked that the "Latin Version" is not a translation, but a different composition. (Analysed infra under date.)

² P.R.O. Unpublished Exchequer Warrant Book. (1581).

letters¹ went so far as to advance a theory that William Cecil, Lord Burghley, supplied "in secret" the material for this gross and grotesque vilification of a peer who actually was one of his chief friends and colleagues.

As the authentic correspondence of Leicester and Cecil abounds in allusions to their long friendship—of which Cecil gave practical tokens (subsequently to be described),—the obstinate present belief in the enmity of these two Councillors can admit only of one explanation: namely that whereas to bring together the letters of Leicester and Cecil and scrutinise their allied labours, requires many years of application, it is easy to look at the latest reprint of "*Leicester's Commonwealth*," the editor of which in 1904 claimed to be presenting to the world a work of veritable history: a mistake only explicable in that this production already figured in the list of "*authorities*" for Leicester's life provided in the 19th century at Cambridge in "*Athenae Cantabrigienses*": and that Dr Zouch D.D. in 1808, in his Memoir of Leicester's nephew Sir Philip Sidney, had taken Leicester's political sentiments not from Leicester's or Sidney's words but from a lampoon called "*Leicester's Ghost*," appended in 1641 to a reprint of the libel.

Zouch rebuked Philip Sidney for ill-manners and improper language, because he ventured to object in pungent terms to his uncle being called a traitor, tyrant, poisoner, adulterer, "Machiavellian," atheist, "and what not."

Whether Sidney ever saw the "Latin version" of these fabrications may be doubted, as we find references by him only to the English and French; but it is to the Naples-printed charges that we should now pay attention.

In an age so ceremonious that brothers who were Earls called each other "your good Lordship," the omission of Leicester's title, and the referring to him as "Robert," or as "Dudley," after he had been an Earl for twenty-one years, was intended to be insulting. Some of our later historians mistake it for a 16th century custom, as they allude often to "Dudley" when they mean "Leicester."

After February 1570-71, when Sir William Cecil was raised to the peerage, if we find him called "Cecil" by any contemporary, instead of "my Lord Burghley" or "my Lord Treasurer" we may infer that the writer accepted the Pope's pronouncement against Elizabeth . . . and all her heretical adherents," and so denied her right to confer titles, honours, or offices.

Having held forth on the "sorceries" of "Dudley" and his "poisonings," "impure Puritanism," "lusts, and more than Turkish tyranny,"—having alleged also that all the "tumults" in France and Scotland were of his making, and that after employing Sir Nicholas Throckmorton as his agent to sow seeds of strife, he poisoned him "in a salad,"—the author of "*Flores Calvinistici*" comes to the case of Cardinal "Castiglione." (Now first rendered from dog-Latin into English it runs thus):

¹ Simpson, "*Politics of Shakespeare's Historical Plays*." cit. later.

² "*Defence of the Earl of Leicester*." Orig: Sidney's holograph (unknown to Zouche), Russell of Aden MSS. Facsimile, under date 1584.

"in very truth friend lives no longer safe with friend once the Calvinistic and Bezan Evangel takes root. For all men of this kidney make a habit of preferring pleasure to honour, and of swearing and forswearing themselves, if only they can thus obtain what they desire: as is obvious in the case of our Sardanapalus:

"For when he saw that Odet Chastillon, the brother of the Admiral of France, a man hitherto respected for noble ancestry, had given up his faith and piety and had fled to England, as to an Asylum for the Damned and for traitors, and of his own authority he made no objection to that marriage which this traitor of ours had long before attempted with his own mistress the Queen, he dexterously brought it about that he should be caught in a net and killed, so that he might make no further mention of Robert's nuptials, and should harp no more on his own salvation."¹

The style is involved; but the meaning seems to be that it was the ex-Cardinal who celebrated a clandestine wedding of Her Majesty and Leicester (date and place not specified); and then was "killed" by Leicester to prevent his making "further mention of Robert's nuptials."

It appears not to have been noticed that there is a disparity between the Latin and the English lies. Though both represent Lord Leicester as responsible for the French Cardinal's death, the reason alleged is strikingly different. In Latin the Cardinal is used in secret to promote the marriage, and then is poisoned lest he talk about it. But according to the libel in English he was poisoned for warning the Queen that Leicester "drove" away her first three suitors "by protesting and swearing that himselfe was contracted unto Her Majesty: *whereof her highness was sufficiently advertised by Cardinal Chatilian in the first treaty for France, and the Cardinal soone after punished (as is thought) by this man with poison.*"²

"As is thought"—without indication of who 'thought' anything so preposterous—is typical of the whole dissertation. But from these clumsy fictions let us pass to the fullest authentic account of the death of "the L. Cardynall Chastylyan": a confidential report drawn up at the time, signed by Roger Manwood, of a well-known legal family, and Thomas Leighton, subsequently Sir Thomas and Governor of Guernsey. Addressed jointly to the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burghley, it is endorsed by Burghley's secretary "30 Marche 1571, Mr Manwood and Mr Leyghton to ye Erle of Leic. and my L. What they find by examination touching ye Cardinall's deathe."³

"May it please your good L(ordship)s

(According to Her Majesty's pleasure and your Lordships order) repairing hither, after conference first had with the Lady Chastillon what she thought of the death of the Lord Cardinal Chastillon whether by poisoning or not, . . . we found that she thought it came by some lingering poisoning."⁴

¹ ". . . in Angliam veluti ad Asylum perditorum ac proditorum confugisse, ibiq sua auctoritate nonnihil obstore matrimonio, quod tam pridem proditor hic noster in Regina domina sua attentasset, curavit dextre hominem bolo obiecto sic expediri ut nec de Roberto nupto ultre mentionem faceret vllam, nec de salute sua cogitaret amplius." Op: cit. No. VIII. p. 18.

² "*Leycester's Commonwealth*," 1641, as reprinted 1904 under title of "*History of Queen Elizabeth*" &c., &c. pp. 33-34.

³ Spelling infra modernised from Unpublished Orig: S.P.D. Eliz: LXXVIII. 38.

⁴ "Lyngerynge poysonyng."

"... At the Lord Cardinal his last being at London (the day that her Majesty went to the Royal Exchange) the Lady Chastillon here had a marvellous strange grief suddenly coming to her heart. In such wise she thought that instant some inconvenience came to the Lord Cardinal, and ever sythens his coming from London he had not such health as he had before . . ."

Various details follow as to the pain felt at Rochester by "the L. Cardynall at his last coming from London," "complaining of cold, and grieved as of a fever"; and "notwithstanding blood-letting and other medicines ministered," his fever raged "till a day or two before his death."

The end was unexpected, for when the fever abated it was hoped he would recover.

There had been a post mortem examination by a physician who believed he had found signs of poison. So the caskets, chests and trunks of all the servants had been searched. No incriminating matter was found, but two of the servants had been arrested as a precautionary measure, one being a groom just starting for France.

Manwood and Leighton wondered "whether the variety of medicines" could not have produced the inward "spottes and frettings" which one of the physicians described as denoting poison.

On enquiry they found that the groom who had been imprisoned was authorised by "the Lord Cardinal and the Ladye" to have gone "straight to the Admiral (de Coligny) in France." "And this lastly we find, that every one of the servants are poor in effect," and all were devoted to their master, "making much lamentation of his death after their long service with him." As these servants were entirely dependent upon him, and the expectation of his long life and return to France was "all their hope," they appeared to speak truth when they denied knowledge of any "evil or prejudice to their master."

"such of them as had any doings near about him, with tears earnestly affirmed that if any of their fellows or any other could charge them with any suspicion or matter tending to any hurt of their master, they require no pardon or favour, but all extremity of torture."

They protested that if they could learn that any person had "practised" to carry out any such poisoning, they would desire the offender's death, and would wish to kill him with their own hands: "the loss of so good a master" being "their utter undoing."

"So," concluded Manwood and Leighton, "upon the whole . . . we do not find any matter worthy of suspicion against any of the servants. Nevertheless after our examinations eftsoons conferring with the Lady Chastillon, and offering that what she would have should be done, and finding her much settled in opinion that the Cardinal was poisoned, . . . and therefore [that she] much desired to have some servants stayed till the mind of the Admiral in France were known, we have thought good by . . . order to the Mayor of Canterbury there to bestow in several houses six of the servants . . . till her Majesty's pleasure . . . shall be signified . . ." till which time "we do here abide, only expecting . . . a passport for the Lady Chastillon. . ."

But the Lady Chastillon was so overcome with grief that she became too ill to travel; and it was not for another couple of months that she was able to embark for France.

Her farewell words show her as still far from recovered :

"To the Queen: Madame. I think I would be the most ungrateful person in the world to depart from your kingdom without first going to kiss the hands of your Majesty, and take my leave, and receive your commandments, if my health and strength would have permitted me. But, Madame, being in so piteous a state as I am, it is impossible for me to go. . . This is the reason, Madame, that I humbly beg your Majesty to receive in good part the excuses that I have given for this gentleman to present to you from me . . ."

Thanking the Queen anew for "the great benefits and honours and continual favours that I have always received from your Majesty," she declares that though she is leaving England, "I can truly say, Madame, that my spirit and heart will remain enslaved to you; and no matter where I go it will be to serve God, and to pray ceaselessly, Madame, for the prosperity and greatness of your person and State . . ."

Commending Her Majesty to Heaven's protection, and hoping she may keep her kingdom in peace and happiness,—no mere empty formula from one who had seen civil war in France,—"*De vostre ville de Canturbery ce XXVII^e Jour de May 1571,*" she signs herself "*Votre tres humble e(t) tres obeysante esclave et seruante,* Y. CHASTILLON."

There follows a letter to Lord Burghley on the "*vj Jour de Juing.*" Acknowledging "*un Infiny dobbligations*" she relies upon him to befriend a French merchant "*congneu de feu monsieur le cardinal.*" With this act of intercession, the widow of Odet de Chastillon vanishes.

In her agonised conviction that her husband had been poisoned, she had made clear that it was not upon any Englishman her suspicions rested, but upon the French servants.

It appears not to have occurred to the examiners that as there were personages in France who had no wish for the return of Odet de Chastillon, the easiest (if most devilish) way to prevent it was to corrupt one of his own household. Lady Chastillon's suspicions were imputed in England merely to her extremity of grief. It was not until nearly two years later that the truth about the Cardinal's death was revealed; and the conviction of his wife confirmed.

"From Hampton Court the 13 of January 1572" (3) Principal Secretary Sir Thomas Smith wrote to Francis Walsingham, (still Ambassador in France),

"We have had intelligence lately from Rochel that there was a servant of the late Cardinal Chastillans put to death there for . . . conspiring to betray the town of Rochel; and the same, *as he went to execution, confessed that it was he that*

¹ French: orig: Endorsed "28 May 157. Madame de Chastillon to y^e Q^s Matie," S.P.For: Eliz: (S.P. 70) Vol. 18. No. 1182. Not holog: Wafer seal. (Only very briefly epitomised. Cal: S.P.F. 1569-71. No. 1742).

² Dated "De Canterbury le vj Jour de Juing 1571." Addressed "*A Monsieur, Monsieur de Burley.*" Signed "*Vostre humble e obligée amy Y. Chastillon*" (only this much holog:). Endorsed with the date and "Madame Chatillon to my L. for a fr. m^rchant y^t he may change his linen cloth y^t he hath brought to Butter and Cary it over." S.P. For: Eliz: 118. No. 1193. (Calendared S.P.F. 1569-71, p. 466, but with "*beurres*" misread "*beirres*").

poisoned the same Cardinal in England: whereby it may appear that this design of murdering had the plot laid long before"; and Smith wonders "whether the Queen of Navarre passed out the same way."

As this letter has been in print since 1655,—published by Sir Dudley Digges in "*The Compleat Ambassador*," and republished in Charles II's reign,—the less excusable are the repetitions, by 19th century editors of Naunton, that Cardinal Chastillon was murdered by Robert Earl of Leicester. The careless, even jocose, reiteration of an allegation which if true would be an indelible stain upon one of the chief Privy Counsellors of the Queen of England, should henceforth cease to defile any English pen.

In the Chapel of Holy Trinity in Canterbury Cathedral, in "a plain tomb made like a round-lidded chest . . . of bricks plaistered over, . . . lie the remains of Odo (de) Coligny, . . . Cardinal Chastillon,"¹ not far from the monumental effigies of Edward the Black Prince, and of King Henry IV with his Queen, and the tombs of Archbishop Courtenay, and of Cardinal Pole the last Roman Catholic Primate of England. In 1571 Cardinal Chastillon's coffin "was placed here" (at the foot of Archbishop Courtenay's monument, between two pillars), "and bricked round awaiting removal to France . . ."²

It still waits; and the remark has been made that it is surprising how the Huguenots "who have worshipped below the body" (i.e. in the crypt) "from the very time of his death, have suffered this mean uninscribed brickwork to form his only covering."²

But the circumstances in which the Huguenots first came to Canterbury—as refugees who had lost their worldly goods—were hardly such as to enable them to pay for a monument befitting the dignity of Odet de Coligny-Chastillon. And when, more than twenty years later, the Huguenot King Henry of Navarre and France was to enter in triumph into Paris which had so long resisted him, his peace with the Vatican made it impossible, to transfer to France, for post mortem honours, the body of the one French Cardinal who had flouted the Papal supremacy, and had acted as Ambassador Extraordinary from Queen Jeanne of Navarre and the Huguenot Princes and nobles, to the Sovereign denounced by successive Popes as only a "pretended Queen."

¹ "*An Historical Description of the Church of Christ, Canterbury*" &c. 2nd ed: Canterbury, 1783. p. 48.

² T. C. Cox, "*Canterbury*," &c. London, 1905. p. 176.

APPENDIX.

"A SIGHT MOST COMMENDABLE."

(On St. Michael and All Angels Day, 29 Sept: 1571.)

We all know Queen Elizabeth's objection to allowing her subjects to accept foreign titles or Orders, and her quip that her sheep should bear no brand but her own. It is less commonly remembered that she had permitted the Earl of Leicester to accept the Order of St. Michael from King Charles IX of France.

At 9 a.m. on Saturday, 29th September, St Michael and All Angels' Day, 1571, the baillie and burgesses came to the Priory House, Warwick, at which Leicester was staying with his brother Ambrose Earl of Warwick. Their purpose was to attend him to Church.

They were marshalled in a procession, two and two, and after them walked "such of my Lord's Gentlemen, and Gentlemen of the Shire as that day waited upon him." Then came the Sergeant bearing the Mace, and then the Bailiff in a scarlet Gown; and "Mr William George, that day Steward to my Lord, and Mr Thomas Dudley Comptroller to my Lord, and Mr Robert Christmas Treasurer to my Lord, all with white staves . . . all in one Rank"; followed by two Heralds, "Dragon¹ Pursuivant at armes and Clarencieux, King at Armes."

"Then came my said Lord the Earle of Leicester, by himself, apparalled all in white: His shoes of velvet: His Stockings, or Hose, of knit silk: His upper Stockings of white Velvet lyned with Cloth of Silver: His Doublet of Silver: His Jerkin white Velvet drawn with silver beautified with gold and precious Stones; his Girdle and Scabbard white velvet: His Roobe white Saten embroidered with Gold a Foot broad very curiously: His Cap black velvet with a white Feather: His Collar of Gold beset with precious Stones, and his Garter about his leg, of St George's Order: A sight worthy the beholding.

"And yet surely all this costly and curious Apparel was not more to be praised than *the comely gesture of the saide Earl, whose Stature, being reasonably tall, was furnished with all Portions and Lynaments of his Body and Parts answerable in all things: So as in the Eyes of this Writer he seemed the only Goodliest Personage Male in England . . . Surely to all the beholders it was a sight most Commendable.*"

There accompanied him on foot from the Priory to St Mary's Church, the "Earl of Hertford, the Lord Berkeley, the Lord Dudley, the Lord Chandois, the Lord Deputy," and many other Knights and Gentlemen.

The decorations of the Church are described; "the French King's Arms, and my Lord's Arms within a Garter" being set up over the seats prepared for him and his Company.

"The Children and others of the Church" sang the Psalms accompanying the Communion Service; my Lord offered two pieces of gold for the relief of the poor; and after various ceremonies added to the usual service, he and the other peers, with their attendants, returned to the Priory, on foot as they had come. The feast of St Michael was kept by him at the Priory House, "with liberal Bounty and great Cheer." Nor did it offend any that my Lord sat "in a Parlour by himself . . . and was served with many Dishes all covered," offered "upon the knee" by a page.

¹ ? Rouge Dragon.

"After Dinner" (which would have been at noon or earlier) the "Earl remained in the House with his Robe on, until the Evening, mynding to go again to Even Song." But the weather changed; and it "being foul and a very great Rain he could not go forth according to his intent."¹

It was in the spring of this same year, 1571, that Leicester had obtained the royal permission to found and endow in the town of Warwick a Hospital for poor, needy, and deserving persons. Inspired by "the good and charitable Deeds and Works of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and other his ancestors," he specially wished to provide for men who had been "*wounded, maimed or hurt in the Wars, in the service of Her Majesty, her heirs and successors.*"

The Hospital, which was to "*have continuance for ever,*" was to consist of a Master and twelve Poor Brethren: the nominating of whom was to be carried on by Leicester's heirs in perpetuity.²

When we read in the "very vyle" libel printed abroad in 1584 that Leicester was universally hated throughout England,—for "atheism," "sorceries," "oppressions of the poor," "treasons," "poisonings," and multifarious debaucheries,—instead of calling these deliberate lies "contemporary evidence," we will be wiser to recall that in the actual "merrie England" his magnificence delighted the beauty-loving beholders; his hospitality at Kenilworth Castle, extended liberally to all ranks, was warmly appreciated;³ and of his generosity, especially towards scholars and soldiers, the recipients of his bounty have left ample evidence.⁴

¹ "*A Particular Detail of the Grand Solemnity, with which the Earl of Leicester celebrated the French Order of St. Michael, at Warwick, in the year 1571.*" (Whereabouts of MS not given by John Sabin in "*A Brief Description of the Collegiate Church . . . of St Mary . . . Warwick . . .*" To which is added "*A Particular Detail*" &c., &c. pp. 62-64.)

² See Collins, *Letters and Memorials* (1746), Vol. I, p. 46, for Leicester's Laws and Ordinances for the Hospital; revised in 1585. Lord De L'Isle and Dudley now represents him, and nominates the Master and Brethren.

³ "*Princely Pleasures.*" 1575. E.E. II. 2. 2.

⁴ Many examples follow, up to his death in 1588. In relation to his patronage of the drama, we should recall an undated letter to him from six of his players, in 1572:—

"May it please Your Honour to understand that forasmuch as there is a certain Proclamation out for the reviving of a Statute as touching Retainers," [viz., that actors would have no legal status unless enrolled as of a nobleman's household], ". . . we therefore, your humble servants and daily orators, your players, . . . are bold to trouble your Lordship, . . . humbly desiring your Honour that (as you have been always our good Lord and master) you will vouchsafe to retain us, . . . as your household servants: . . . not that we mean to crave any further stipend or benefit . . . but our liveries as we have had, and also your Honour's license to certify that we are your household servants, when we shall have occasion to travel among our friends as we do usually once a year, and as other noblemen's players do . . . ready to be always at your Lordship's commandment. . . ."

Long may your Lordship live in peace, a peer of noblest peers;

In health, wealth and prosperity, redoubling Nestor's years."

Signed by "James Burbage, John Perkinne, John Lanham, Will^m Johnson, Roberte Wilson, Thomas Clarke." (Spelling modernised from Longleat Dudley MSS, F. 10 (213); and copy lb. vol. iii, f. 125. Printed long ago in "*Notes and Queries*," and lately in (Sir) E. K. Chambers' "*The Elizabethan Stage*" (1923), vol. II, pp. 85-86 (B.M. 2039. b). A statement by the editor of the Mermaid Series of Dramatists (vol. I, p. ix-x), that the Elizabethan nobility could not "*control the theatre in England*" because it had "*already become a possession of the people*," is the more infelicitous, in that by Statute law the actors were dependent upon the nobility for licences to carry on their calling. Moreover this suggested antithesis between the nobility and the people is irrelevant to an age when the great nobility were still wealthy enough to be the recognised protectors and helpers of all the lesser ranks,—from their own poor relations down to the humblest recipients of their "liberalitie and bountie."



Imprinted at London by John Daye.

Title-page of early translation of Euclid's "Elements": 1570-1. With Dr. John Dee's "Mathematicall Praeface" addressed "To the Unfained Lovers of Truthe, and Constant Students of Noble Sciences": dated "Anno 1570. Februarii 9."

Folio; with portrait of the printer John Day, 1570 (similar of the woodcut, 1562, reproduced ante). In possession of Messrs. Maggs Bros. Also in B.M. No: C. 40. l. 7.

Dr. Dee defends himself as an astrologer and mathematician, proficient in lawful arts, and protests against the vulgar notion that he is a wizard, "a companion of hell-hounds . . . and a conjurer of wicked and damned spirits."

SOME POPULAR TRANSLATIONS, 1558-9—1569.¹

- 1558-9 "Sertayne Dreames made by Artemedorus": (And "A pleasant Treatise of . . . sundrie dreams." 1563. Thomas Hill. Reprinted 1571, 1576. B.M. 719. e. 33.)
- (1560?) "A Brefe & plesaunte Worke . . of . . Pictagoras" (Pythagoras). B.M. C. 27. a. 7.
- (1560?) "The bookes of Xenophon . . . Cyrus the noble Kyng of Persie." William Barkar. B.M. 106603. aa. 11.
- 1561 "Quintus Curcius . . . the greate Alexander." John Brende. B.M. 294. h. 27. 2nd ed: For first see Prologue, 1553, sec: 2.
- 1562 "The Nynne fyrst Bookes of the Eneidos of Virgil." Thomas Phaer (partly published in 1558). B.M. C. 56. e. 2.
- 1563 "Onosandro Platonico, of the Generall Captaine." Peter Whitehorne. B.M. 8824. a. 11.
- 1564 Trogus Pompeius. Arthur Golding. B.M. 302. G. 22. ante.
- 1564 "A briefe Chronicle." Eutropius. Nicholas Havvard. B.M. C. 12. c. 11.
- 1565 Caesar's "*Gallia*." Arthur Golding. B.M. G. 9049. ante.
- 1565 Ovid's "Metamorphosis." Arthur Golding: & 1567.
- 1565-6 "The Story of Jason how he gotte the golden flece." C. Valerius Flaccus. Nicholas Whyte.
- 1566 "The XI Bookes of the Golden Asse . . . of Lucius Apuleius with an excellent Narration of the Mariage of Cupide & Psiches . . ." William Adlington. B.M.C. 21. b. 31. Reprinted 1571, 1596, &c.
- 1567 "The Eclogues of Virgil." Geo. Turberville.
- 1567 "The Heroycall Epistles . . . Publius Ouidius Naso." Geo. Turberville. B.M. 11388. a. 25.
- 1567 "The XV Bookes of P. Ouidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphosis." Arthur Golding. B.M. G. 17529.
- 1567 "The Manuell of Epictetus." Ia(mes) Sanford. B.M. 714. a. 1.
- 1568 "The Hystories of . . . Polybius." C. W(atson). B.M. G. 1197.
- 1568-9 "An Æthiopian Historie . . . by Heliodorus." Tho. Underdounne (often reprinted).
- 1569 "The booke of Marcus Tullius Cicero entituled Paradoxa Stoicorum," &c., &c., and "Scipio hys Dreame." Thomas Newton. B.M. 232. k. 19.
- 1569 "A right noble and pleasant History of the Successors of Alexander," &c. "Diodorus Siculus . . . wise Plutarch." Thomas Stocker. B.M. 9025. cc. 3.

¹ The student should consult Miss Henrietta Palmer's excellent "*List of English Editions & Translations of Greek & Latin Classics printed before 1641*." Bibliog: Soc: 1911. (Listed in alphabetical order. Not indexed.)

Victor Schrodler, Introduction, p. xviii, classes Elizabethan translations as unsatisfactory, and gives as his reason that "the time was too active and too full of itself to care very much about entering into the spirit of remote antiquity." But the activity of the Elizabethans was not self-centred; in no other age have classical heroes been so well appreciated. Schrodler does not explain that all cultured persons could read the original works; so these translations were the popular literature of that "active" era, in which "*learning & chevalrie*" were classed together, and both were universally admired.

PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION 5.

“Blows which the Turks have received.”

(*The battle of Lepanto, 7th October, 1571.*)

“ . . . the fleets of the Holy League fought the Turkish Navy consisting of 300 sail, and have defeated and dispersed it . . . We wished to send the news of this victory to your Majesty, because . . . we are sure you will receive it with the satisfaction it deserves.”

The Doge of Venice to Queen Elizabeth, 19 Oct: 1571.
(S.P. Foreign Eliz: Vol. CXX. No. 1350.) (First published p. 91.)

“Knowing the desire your Majesty always has had for the universal good of Christianity, . . . I am glad to be able to advertise your Majesty of the . . . victory it has pleased God to give against the Turkish Army by sea.”

Don Fernando, Duke of Alba, to Queen Elizabeth. 9 Nov: 1571.
(First published p. 92.)

“ . . . the late blowes which the Turkes have received . . . much comforteth every Christian hart.”

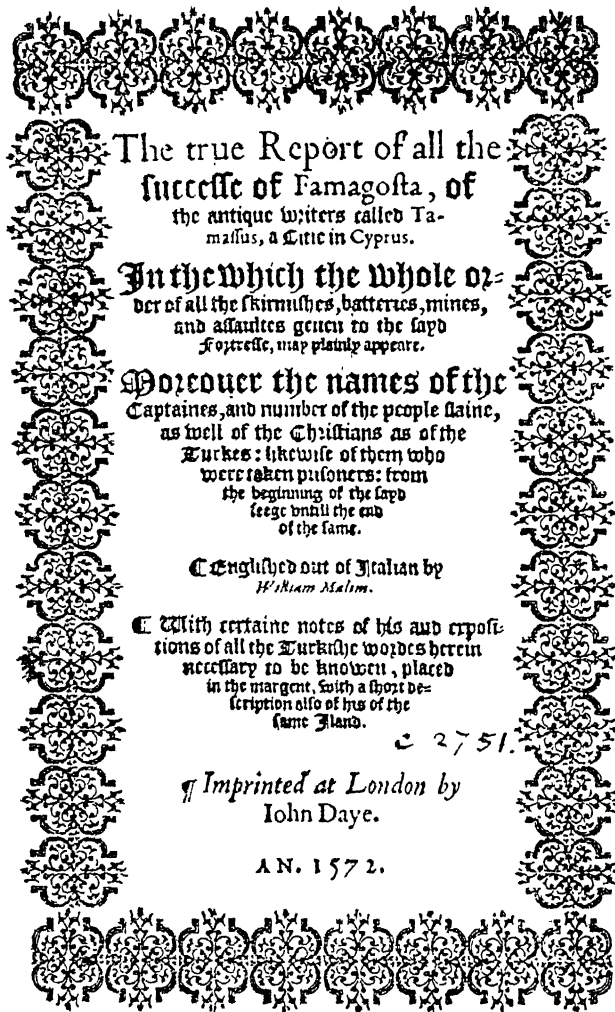
William Malim to Robert Earl of Leicester, 23rd March 1572,
dedicating to him a translation of “*The true report . . . made by the noble Earle Nestor Martinengo unto the renowned Duke of Venice.*” 1572. (B.M. 1057. c. 25.)

“This signal Victory filled all Europe with joy.”

Sir Paul Rycaut: “*Lives of the Popes.*” 1685. p. 161.

“ . . . the certain report of some such honourable gentlemen of our owne Country as have either . . . served in these late wars of Hungary, or . . . spent some good times in travelling into the Turkes dominions: . . . ”

Richard Knolles “To the Reader”; “Generall Historie of the Turkes.”
London. 1603.



Title-page of Malim's translation of the Report of "*the noble Earl Nestor Martinengo unto the renowned Prince the Duke of Venice*," describing the siege of Famagosta (Cyprus) from 16th February, 1571, till the surrender, 1st August. London, 1572.

With arms of Robert, Earl of Leicester, K.G.; whose great knowledge of history and zeal for "Religion" are eulogised. (Small 4to. B.L. B.M. 1057. c. 25. 26 leaves). The original *Relatione di tutto il Successo di Famagosta*, &c. (16 pp.), *Venetia, Appresso Giorgio Angeleri, MDLXXII.*, was translated at once into French and German.

Retranslated by C. D. Cobham, "*Travels in the Island of Cyprus*," &c., Cambridge University Press, 1909; with remark that Malim's version is "correct," but "quaint and diffuse," with "pedantic and fulsome" dedication to Leicester. But the dedicatory letter (after expressions of gratitude) treats of the state of Christendom. Malim (23 March, 1572) rejoices over the "blowes which the Turkes have received since this their fury"; and commends the Holy League of "many Christian Princes . . . against these barbarous Mahometists: whose crueltie . . . I partly know." (Sig: A iij). He wishes for a combination of Christian potentates to drive the Turk out of Europe. Malim was a protégé of Lord Burghley, who employed him in 1579 to preface the Latin works of Sir Thomas Chaloner (see under date).

THE VICTOR OF LEPANTO: DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA

from the original by Sanchez Coello in the Prado at Madrid.

(Photograph: Moreno).

"Don John of Austria was a fair and accomplished Prince; . . . very handsome, of a good grace, gentle in all actions, courteous, affable, and of a high spirit, and, above all, brave and valiant."
Brantôme: "*Les Grands Capitaines Estrangers*," (*Oeuvres*: IV., p. 330).

Father Strada in "*De Bello Belgico*," as translated by Sir Robert Stapleton, 1650, describes Don John as of "face not only faire but excellently featured. His hair yellowish; his eyes quick and shining: . . . His manners infinitely set off his Loveliness, and his Loveliness his manners."

Among pictures of foreign Princes in possession of Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester was one of "*Donn John*"; but this cannot now be traced, Leicester's collection of portraits at Kenilworth Castle, Wanstead Place, and Leicester House, having been broken up and sold in 1588 because he died in debt to the Crown.

Some eight weeks before the battle of Lepanto, Lord Burghley in his own hand was making memoranda of the fleet and army of the Holy League under Don John's command. His "*Extract out of advices from beyond ye seas*," dated "August, 1571," (S.P. Foreign, Eliz: cxx, 1312) has hitherto remained unnoticed and unpublished.

News had reached him that "Dolcignio in Dalmatia wher cavalier Martinengo was captayn" had been "taken by ye Turks army, and Martinengo slayn." Also "ye Turk determynd to take Zara & Catarro in Dalmatia. . ." In the Christian forces, "Counsellors for ye pope in ye army ar Marco anto[nio] Colonna & his S^{or} pompeio colonna his lievetenant.

"for ye k. of spayn Don Jo. daustria and ye Comm. maior
of Castilia . . .," (with other particulars).
6 Settembr.

| | | | | | | |
|---|--|---|---------------------------------------|---|---|-----------------------|
| <p>"The Christian army consisteth of 81 Gallees ye pope hath 12 Gall Malta 4 Savoya 3</p> | <p>20 shippes 7000 Spaniards 5000 Itall. 6000 Alman.</p> | } | <p>for ye k. of spayn</p> | <p>108 Gall. 6 Galleons 2 shippes 5000 foot</p> | } | <p>for Venice</p> |
|---|--|---|---------------------------------------|---|---|-----------------------|

ye popes nuncio odescalco did bless ye army.
In ye secreet Counsell ar pompeio Colonna
Veniero y^e Generall procuror for Veni[ce]
Barbarigo } proveditori
Qrini }
Don Jhon de Austria
Commend. maiore
Mar. an. Colonna

of ye Generall(s) beside these aforsayd
Jhon andr Doria
Ascanio della Corona
paolo Jordano
March de S^a Croce."

". . . pagano doria brother to John Andr[ea] Doria hath resigned to his brother Don Jon "all his lyvelhood of 7000 ll. yerly, to ayde his brother, and hym self is become a knight of y^e Rodes" (i.e. a Knight of St. John of Jerusalem at Malta, Rhodes had been lost to the Turks in 1523, but the habit of alluding to "Knights of Rhodes" outlasted their possession of that Island).



POPE PIUS V:

with vignettes of the battle of Lepanto below:

From "Vita del Gloriosissimo Papa Pio Quinto

Scritta da Girolamo Catena Dedicata al santissimo Signor Nostro Sisto Quinto. Con una raccolta di lettere di Pio V. à diuersi Principi, & le risposte, con altri particolari. E i Nomi delle Galee, & di Capitani, così Christiani, come Turchi, che si trouarono alla battaglia nauale. Dall' istesso Autore riueduta & ampliata.

In Roma. Con licenza et privilegi. MDLXXXVII."

(Pope Sixtus's license, dated xi June, 1586.)

List of the Christian galleys and Captains, pp. 355-362. And of the Turkish Navy, pp. 352-367.

Colophon, "*In Roma. Per Alessandro Gardano et Francesco Coattino. MDLXXXVII.*" (B.M. 484. a. 26).

The frontispiece here reproduced is not in the earlier edition (B.M. 484. b. 14.) "*In Mantoua, per Francesco Osanna, 1587. Con licenza de' Superiori.*"



THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO. 7th OCTOBER, 1571:

From the picture in the Sala Regia, at the Vatican,
by Vasari and Sabbatini.

(Photograph: Anderson, Rome.) This is reproduced in preference to the better known picture by Paul Veronese in the Doge's Palace, Venice. (Photograph: Alinari, P.z.N. 13793, Venezia.)

No two historians agree as to the losses; the various figures are tabulated below; for comparison with the Despatches, App: A.

| TURKISH LOSSES. | | | | CHRISTIAN LOSSES. | |
|--|---|--|---|--|---|
| | <i>Turkish Fleet.</i> | <i>Ships lost.</i> | <i>Mariners and Soldiers.</i> | <i>Prisoners.</i> | <i>Ships. Fighting Men.</i> |
| MARIANA "Historia de España" (1537-1624). | 260 galleys, joined by "many more." | 177 captured. 70 sunk or burnt: Total 247. | slain or drowned, 35,000. | 7,920 seamen and soldiers: and 3,000 galley slaves. Total 10,920. | 17 galleys. 7,756. |
| LAFUENTE: "Historia de España" (1850. Re-issued 1889. Vol. X.) | 200 galleys: reinforced by 240 galliots and other craft. 440 (and more). | 130 captured. 90 sunk or burnt. 220. | slain, 25,000. Prisoners, 5,000. | 5,000 seamen and soldiers: 12,000 galley slaves. 17,000. | 15 "small ships." (i.e. no galleys). 2,000 Spanish 800 Papal 5,200 Venetian. 8,000. (losses of the Fleet from Malta etc. not specified). |
| KNOLLES "General Historie of the Turkes." (1603). | 250 Turkish galleys, galliots, and brigantines. 95 Algerine galleys. 320 (see note 3, p. 86. | 161 great ships captured; and 50 smaller vessels. 40 sunk. 251. | | 12,000 Christian slaves released. | |
| VERTOT "Annals of the Order of St. John." Paris, 1725 and 1727. Eng. trans: London, 1728. Vol. II. | | 140 gallies captured; "not to mention those that were sunk or burnt." | 30,000. | 5,000; and 20,000 Christian slaves released. | |
| RYCAUT "Lives of the Popes," 1685. | | 117 gallies 80 brigantines or smaller vessels . . . "sunk or burned or put ashore" 40 sail of gallies . . . taken in the pursuit. 237. | 32,000. | 3,500 "captives." 15,000 poor Christians . . . who had been chained to the Oar." | 9,656. |



Title-page, here first reproduced, of
KNOLLES'S "GENERALL HISTORIE OF THE TURKES . . .
with all the notable expeditions of the Christian Princes against them . . . 1603."

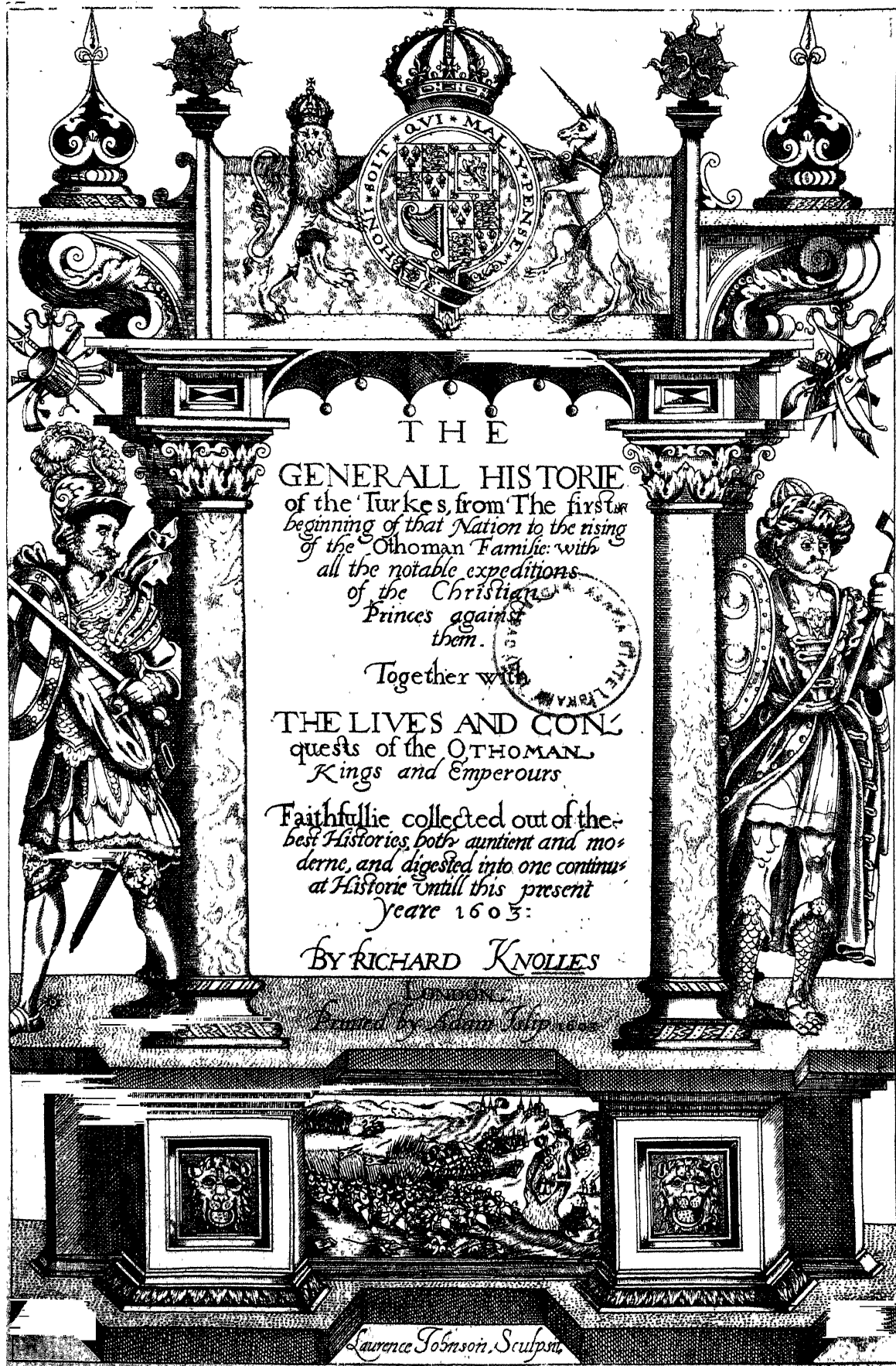
Folio (B.M. No. 9135 N. 1).

An MS note in the British Museum copy states that "This first Edition is of great rarity. There is a copy in Lincoln College, where the author was educated.

Laurence Johnson who engraved the frontispiece and plates was not known to Vertue, nor is he included in Lord Orford's Catalogue."

Knolles, at the end of his "*Introduction to the Christian Reader*," "*from Sandwich the last of September, 1603*," specified 36 of the "*Histories, both ancient and moderne*," out of which he had "digested" his own narrative "untill this present Yeare." They include the works of Æneas Silvius; and of De Busebecq (Augerius Busebecquius) the Imperial Ambassador from Vienna to Constantinople, whose analysis of the Turkish character and policy (ante) still remains unsurpassed.

All editions are excellently indexed. The portraits first issued in 1603 are reprinted in every edition. Five other editions, with continuations, up to that of 1638, and two more of 1700 and 1701, are in the British Museum: eight in all. But whereas in the 17th century, King Charles the First studied this work,—and subsequently it delighted minds so different as Dr. Johnson and Lord Byron,—it is so neglected to-day that the quotations in the ensuing section will be new to the majority of readers. (The title-page is given now instead of under 1603, because the matter in this case is more important than the date of publication). Before Knolles got his labours into circulation, however, there was issued "At London. Printed by Thomas Este, dwelling in Aldersgate streete, 1600" a small quarto with a large title, "*The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie, containing three Bookes: 1. Of the Originall and beginning of the Turkes, and of the foure Empires which are issued . . . out of the superstitious sect of Mahumet. 2. Of their Conquests and the succession of the house of Ottoman untill the present reigning of Mahumet the third. 3. Of the warres and seege of Malta, which Solymán the great made on the great Maister and brothers of that order. Heere Unto haue I annexed a briefe discourse of the warres of Cyprus, at what time Selimus the second took from the Venetians the possession of that Island. Translated from the French and Italian tongues.*" Dedicated to "the three worthy brothers Robert Carr, William Carr, and Edward Carr, in the County of Lincoln Esquiers," by their cousin Robert Carr. (The only known copy is in possession of Messrs. Ellis, 29 New Bond Street, W.1.).



THE
GENERALL HISTORIE
of the Turkes, from The first
beginning of that Nation to the rising
of the Othoman Familie: with
all the notable expeditions
of the Christian
Princes against
them.

Together with

THE LIVES AND CON-
quests of the OTHOMAN
Kings and Emperours

Faithfullie collected out of the
best Histories, both auncient and mo-
derne, and digested into one continu-
ous Historie untill this present
yeare 1603:

BY RICHARD KNOLLES

Printed by Iohn Iohnson

Laurence Johnson, Sculptor

PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION 5.

“Blows which the Turks have received.”

(The battle of Lepanto, 7th October, 1571).

THOUGH the enormous forces of the Grand Turk had been beaten back from Malta in 1565, with heavy loss, the abandonment of sea power in the Mediterranean was never contemplated for a moment, either by Solyman, or by his son Selim who succeeded him in September 1566. Selim only awaited what he supposed to be the favourable hour to strike again. His hopes appeared the more likely to be realised, because, excepting the Grand Master La Valette, the ablest and bravest Knights of St John had been killed during the siege; and the survivors were weary.

¹ If it be supposed that the battle of Lepanto is irrelevant to the story of Elizabethan England, the answer is that Englishmen were keenly interested in all particulars at the time and long after; and that in our Record Office are two unpublished contemporary accounts of the fight, one addressed “*All’ Ill^{mo} et ex^{mo} Sr mio Sr e padron . . . il Sr Don federico de toledo*,” son of the Great Duke of Alba, docketed “*Copia di una l(ett)ra mandata dall’ armata X’iana, alli 8 di ottobre 1571*” (the day after the battle).

This and the other, 20th October 1571, are first translated (extracts) App: A. The Duke’s letter to Queen Elizabeth announcing the defeat of the Turks is also now first published: likewise that of the Doge of Venice to her.

Of Spanish works in this connection the chief are

F. Janer, “*Historia del combate naval de Lepanto*,” Madrid, 1852.

Cayetano Rosell, “*Historia del combate naval de Lepanto y juicio de la importancia y consecuencia de aquel suceso*,” Madrid, 1853.

M. Sanchez, “*Felipe II y la Liga de 1571 contra el Turco*,” Madrid, 1868.

P. Luciano Serrano, “*La Liga de Lepanto, entre España, Venecia y la Santa Sede (1570-3), Ensayo histórico a base de documentos diplomaticos*,” Madrid, 1919.

There is also E. Jurien de la Gravière’s “*La guerre de Chypre et la bataille de Lepanto*,” Paris, 1888, 2 vols.

For a sketch-plan of the battle (Simancas MS. 1134) see “*Exposición internacional de Barcelona 1929. El Arte en España. Guía del Museo del Palacio Nacional*,” 3rd ed: Barcelona, 1929, p. 437.

The Grand Master, who had never flagged under the stern test of war, was saddened by the deterioration which followed upon the peace. When, after superintending the erection of a new city, and fortifications stronger than before, he died of fever and sunstroke in the summer of 1568, the shallow hearted and lazy were less distressed than relieved that his stately and rebuking presence could no longer make them feel their inferiority. But the assumption that such discipline as he had inculcated was no longer necessary, was the more ill-judged, as within three years of his death the Turkish fleet had been rebuilt and augmented.

Sultan Selim II, though inferior to Solyman in ability, was as conspicuous for hatred against Christians. With his inflammable temper, his "fiery red" face, and his dyed beard, the son of Solyman and Roxalana was "the very personification of the fierce and wicked heathen tyrant of romance."¹ He had the most formidable fleet in the world with which to support his ambitions; and he calculated on the dissensions of Christendom to give him the opportunity. A taunt subsequently put into the mouth of a Moslem on the English stage was uttered many a time in life before it found its way into the drama:

"Look on our flourishing Empire, if the splendour,
The majesty and glory of it dim not
Your feeble sight; and then turn back and see
The narrow bounds of yours; yet that poor fraction
Rent in as many factions and opinions
As you have petty kingdoms!"²

At the opening of the century, Portugal held the front place as a maritime power. Bartholomew Diaz and Pedro Alvarez Cabral were famous before the stars of Christopher Columbus and Hernan Cortes had arisen. But after the Portuguese domination of the East Indies in the reign of King Emmanuel the Fortunate, the conquered contaminated the conquerers. The intermingling of Western and Eastern races in marriage was the beginning of the end of Portugal's vigour. And though in 1571 the young King Sebastian was still possessed of India, Brazil, the Azores and other islands, and held ports in North Africa, his sea-power was not comparable to that of the Sultan of Turkey.

As for the Venetian Navy, though on paper it appeared to outnumber the fleet under Sultan Selim's command, Selim at the shortest notice could summon to his aid the Barbary corsairs from Algiers. Though to some extent kept in check by the Knights of St. John, when these Algerines were united with the Navy of Constantinople the Grand Turk controlled a force exceeding in numbers that of any power which flew the Christian flag; and a renewed wave of horror surged through Christendom in 1570 when news came of the assault on Cyprus.

Nicosia, though very rich, was "ill provided with men for defence." "There lived in the citie above four score thousand persons" but less than "fifteen hundred soldiers, and very few horse of the nobilitie. . ." The Christians were not strong

¹ Sir Wm. Stirling Maxwell. "*Don John of Austria*." (1883). Vol. I. pp. 291-292.

² Massinger, "*The Renegade*." Act IV, Scene 3.

enough to make any "sallie nor skirmish"; and the Turkish artillery reduced them to such desperate straits that after six weeks' "stout defence" they were unable to hold out any longer.

"There was a great slaughter made of all them that were found in armes; but there were more made slaves. . . Above all the Turkes had a great bootie of faire women and maids: among the which there was a gentlewoman, who for despight to see her selfe reduced into servitude, had the courage to set on fire the powder in a ship into which she and many others were put; so as they were all burnt" rather than submit to be dishonoured.¹

As the Turks also had recaptured Guletta, and Tunis, the peril to Christendom was manifest; and Cardinal Pacheco, Cardinal de Granvelle (Antoine Perrenot), and Don Juan de Zúñiga y Requesens, King Philip's Ambassador at Rome, took counsel with the Pope.

The delusion that the way for a State to overcome its foes is to disarm itself was not yet dreamt of. The fall of Nicosia, not for lack of valour but because of insufficient forces, had been an object lesson; causing Spain and other Catholic Powers promptly to form "a Holy League" for general defence against the Sultan.

This agreement was concluded on the 20th of May, 1571. Meanwhile the Turks, encouraged by their victory at Nicosia, had laid siege to Famagosta. And though the garrison was reinforced from Venice, in February 1571, and held out gallantly until the 20th of July, "great hunger and want" by then reduced the townsfolk so low that they were in favour of surrendering, on the best terms that could be obtained. The Venetian General, Bragadino, demurred, hoping for further aid from Venice. But at the end of July, the Turkish assault was so heavy, and the besieged were so near the end of their powder, that on the 1st of August they made a truce. The agreement was that when the city was delivered over to Mustapha Pasha for the Sultan, such Christian inhabitants as desired to remain should not be forced to accept Islam, nor be despoiled of their property: That such as wished to depart should have "free passage into Candie, . . ." and that none of the churches were to be made into mosques.

Mustapha signed these conditions; the soldiers were embarked for Candia in Turkish galleys; and General Bragadino sent the keys of the city to the conqueror by Count Nestor Martinengo and other noblemen "of great worth," who were requested to show their good faith by coming unarmed into the presence of the victor.

Mustapha then pretended that the Christians before embarking for Candia had "treacherously" slain their Turkish slaves; which was untrue. But, "more

¹ De Mayerne Turquet. "*The Generall Historie of Spaine.*" (1586). Translated E(dward) G(rimston). London, 1612. Lib: 29. p. 1159. parag: D.

ferocious than a tiger," the Sultan's General refused to listen to their denials; and, in defiance of all laws of honourable war, these unarmed hostages were "cut in pieces in his presence, one after another"; excepting only two, one of whom was made a slave, and another reserved to be slowly tortured to death after Mustapha had entered Famagosta.

Such of our living literary critics who allege Edmund Spenser's references to "paynims" in 1590 to be a mere remnant of "moribund mediaevalism," have forgotten the burning indignation felt by Elizabethan Englishmen when they heard of the sudden massacre of the hostages, and the prolonged sufferings of the gallant Venetian General after the surrender of Famagosta:

"... having caused Bragadino's eares to bee cut off . . . (Mustapha) made him to be set upon the main yard of the Admiral's gallie of Rhodes, to be a spectacle to the Christians that were there in captivitie. In the end he caused him to be set upon the pillorie in the market place, and there to be flayed alive *by a Jew*."¹

The Venetian warrior met this hideous fate "with noble resolution . . . full of Christian piety"; showing no sign of fear, but expressing lofty scorn for the savage treachery of Mustapha.

This was when "after three score and fifteen dayes battery, and many assaults, the Turkes having spent an hundred and fiftie thousand shot of great ordnance, Famagosta was taken," and Cyprus lost to Christendom after being held for many centuries.²

On the 24th of August, Don John of Austria arrived at Messina, and was received "with great honour" by Colonna and Veniero. At the beginning of September, Andrew Doria joined him with 12 galleys, and German and Lombard troops on board. The Marqués de Santa Cruz brought 30 galleys from Naples; and galleys were sent also from Otranto.

"There were at Messine the eight of September twelve Galleys of the Popes, 81 of the King of Spaines, with twenty ships of burthen (some say twenty five);

¹ Op: cit. p. 1162. parag: M. The Turks excused their vile behaviour on the ground that their conduct was "more merciful" than the "frightful cruelties" committed by the Inquisition against the Arabs. (*Qibris Tarihi* (Levqosha 1312) Nicosia, 1895, pp. 89-91; translated C. Delaval Cobham, "*Travels in Cyprus*," 1909, p. 194-6). But this defence will not serve; for the point is that Mustapha Pasha offered a truce on certain terms, and then violated the conditions agreed.

² The island had first been taken for the Christians by Richard Coeur de Lion, and conferred by him upon Guy de Lusignan (who had lost the battle of Tiberias, and so forfeited Jerusalem to Saladin). The Lusignans reigned in "the pleasant kingdom" of Cyprus "by the space of about 283 years after: untill at length that family failing in the posthumous sonne of James the bastard, last King of that Island, it fell into the hands of the Venetians; by whom it was holden as part of their seignorie almost an hundred yeares, untill it was in our fresh remembrance again from them taken by Selymus the Second, great Emperor of the Turks, in the yeare 1571, as in the process of this historie shall in due place (God willing) be declared." Knolles's "*Generall Historie of the Turkes*," (1603), p. 71. (parag. E and F).

108 gallies of the Seignorie of Venice, six galleases and two ships; Three gallies of Malta; and three of the Order of S. Lazaro; So as there were in the whole fleet two hundred and seven gallies, six Galleasses, and two and twenty ships, besides foists and other smaller vessels; and in them at the least twentie thousand fighting men, with victuals and munitions sufficient.”¹

Lord Burghley had procured all the particulars he could as to the allied proceedings, with the names of the principal Commanders, and numbers of their respective forces. He did not trust a secretary to examine the “advices from beyond ye seas” and make the estimate of the Christian strength, but tabulated the figures in his own hand, and added memoranda as to the chief personages concerned.²

The choice of young “Don Jhon de Austria,” to control Admirals and Generals aged from 50 to 77, caused the Turks to be more than ever confident that the Christians would be vanquished. Spaniards, Austrians, Venetians, Romans, Genoese, and others, seemed more likely to differ among themselves than to combine effectually; and Selim’s Admiral, Ali Pasha, calculated that the juvenile bastard brother of the King of Spain would have a thankless task when he tried to hold them together.

“Born at Ratisbon in Germanie, having the very same birthday” as his father the Emperor Charles V,³ Don John was still three years under 30, when appointed *Capitan de la Mar* for the Holy League. He was supposed to be the child of one Barbara Blomberg, “presented to the Emperor to allay his melancholy with the sweetness of her voice, for she sang rarely,” as Father Famianus Strada expressed it in “*De Bello Belgico*”: adding that the Emperor had

“long been a widower, having lost his wife Isabella seven years before,” and that “while she lived, they say, he most religiously observed his matrimonial vow.”

He was “very careful the city should know nothing of the child” Don John; who was brought up not by his alleged mother in Germany, but in Spain at Villa Garcia by “Aloysio Quisciada, Lord Steward of his Imperial Palace.”⁴

Father Strada elsewhere in the same work adds:

“I must not conceale from the Reader, what a man of Eminence discovered to me, touching the Mother of Don John, not Barbara Blomberg, as to-day the world believes, but a farre more noble Lady, to say truth, a Princesse, for saving of whose Reputation, Charles the fifth would have another named, and getting Barbara Blomberg to act the Mother’s part, and take upon her the glorious title of the fault.”

King Philip adhered to his father’s wishes and continued the delusion: “So King Philip

¹ Op: cit. p. 1163. Parag: C.

² “August, 1571.” First published, ante.

³ 21 September.

⁴ Not Lord Steward but Deputy Steward. This was Luis Mendez Quixada Manoel de Figueredo y Mendoza; second son of Gutierre Gonzalez Quixada, Lord of Villagarcia. Succeeded to the family estates in 1535 when his elder brother was killed in the capture of Tunis. Married in 1549 Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, into whose care in 1554 he entrusted Don John. Vide “*The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles The Fifth, By William Stirling*” [afterwards Sir William Stirling Maxwell] London 1852. pp. 42-43.

himself told his daughter Isabella (to whom he imparted all his Secrets), which she at diverse familiar Conferences communicated to that Person of whom I had it."¹

It was not until "a little before" the Emperor died that he disclosed to his son Philip "that Philip himself and this John had both one father, and therefore charged the King to send for him, and to love and regard him as his natural Brother. But King Philip deferred to do it, two years after the Emperor's death, till his son Charles Prince of Spaine was grown up."

Don John was then "bred" with the Prince and, with "Alexander Prince of Parma, who not long before was sent out of Italy by his Parents to the King his Uncle. . . And they were almost all three of one year, the eldest being not above fourteen."

Of the three, the least attractive was Don Carlos, the heir to the Crown of Spain (King Philip's son by Maria of Portugal); the most remarkable was Don John. For though Alexander of Parma was of a "sweete and pleasant countenance" and "a passionate and military Inclination,"

"Don John of Austria," says Father Strada, "as well in the habit of body as in Generosity of Deportment, far transcended both. His face was not only faire but excellently featured. His haire yellowish; his eyes quick and shining: with a lovely proportion of all his limbs. . . His manners infinitely set off his Loveliness, and his Loveliness his manners: Civility, Industry, and Integrity were eminent in the Youth, and as in one newly come to his Honours, Modesty; which Virtue and Beauty of his, compared with their contraries in Prince Charles, made him beloved, afterwards envied, as eclipsing the Prince. . . And King Philip was somewhat distasted at Don John's aversion from holy Orders."

Don John also gave offence that "without the King's leave, he fled from the Court to Barcelona" in 1565, intending, "if he had not been prevented," to join Don Garcia de Toledo in Sicily and go with him to the relief of Malta.²

English appreciation of Don John's valour, when a great opportunity was put into his hands in 1571, we can most easily see by turning to "*The Generall Historie of the Turkes*," which Richard Knolles wrote during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. From early youth at Oxford Knolles had been a "curious searcher" into antiquity, and a close student of other "learned and credible Authors," including "German and Italian writers" who described the "late affairs." But his task of historian proved so difficult that he was "many times fainting in the long and painful travell" of trying to disentangle truth from falsehood. Marvellous events abounded; but "*every great and famous action had not the fortune to have a Caesar such as both could and would commend unto posterity, by writing, that whereof they might truly say they were themselves a part.*"

Owing to this reticence of "many right excellent Generals, contenting themselves with the honour of the field," all the more necessary was it to find "eie witnesses" whose accuracy could be trusted. "Wishing no longer to live than in some measure to be profitable to the Christian Commonwealth," Knolles took endless pains to get into communication with practical advisers; and finally he revised his narrative from the "certain report of some such honourable gentlemen of our owne country as have either for their honours sake served in these late wars of Hungary, or upon some other occasion spent some good times in travelling into

¹ "*De Bello Belgico*." Trans: Stapleton. 1650. Bk 10. p. 24.

² *Ib*: pp. 17-18.

the Turks dominions, but especially the Imperiall city of Constantinople, the chiefest seat of the Turkish Empire, and place of the Great Turk's abode."¹

Knolles's reflections are those of a thinker who had long pondered over the ways of the world: not in a "cold contemplative" mood, but with sympathy for suffering, and appreciation of merit which give his narrative such vitality that the barriers of time go down while we read it. His rendering of the fight is representative of the Elizabethan spirit at a time when many an English merchant-seaman languished in the dungeons of the Grand Turk, or fought with the Barbary Corsairs; and when Don John's defeat of the Sultan's forces were esteemed "*the greatest and most glorious victory that ever was by any Christian confederate Princes obtained against the Othoman Empire.*"²

On the eve of the battle, the Turks were scoffing at their opponents,

"the kind of men whom our ancestors have driven out of Euboea, Rhodes, Mitylene, Peloponnesus and Tripoli; [whom] we ourselves but yesterday [drove] out of the famous Island of Cyprus; whose cities and strong towns in infinite numbers our Emperor hath as the reward of his wars"; people "whom we have always vanquished by sea and land."³

"*Always*" was too much to claim, considering what had happened in 1565 at Malta. But Ali Pasha—swearing that the "many times conquered" Christians should again "be despoiled of their honour and traffique at sea,"—promised in the name of the Sultan such munificent rewards to the fleet and army that his "comfortable speech" put them "in good hope to have fought the battle upon a great advantage":

"Whereupon . . . they came out of the gulfe, and shaped their course for the Islands Echinades, about midway between Lepanto and Patres, . . . little Islands, or rather obscure rocks scarcely appearing in the sea, but now to be made famous throughout the world by the most notable battell that ever was fought in those seas."⁴

The Christian Allied Fleet, advancing "still on towards the enemy," that

¹ "To the Reader" (p. 6, unnumbered). The task was spread over so many years of Queen Elizabeth's reign that Knolles only finished his large folio in time to dedicate it to her successor.

See Title page of first edition, 1603, ante. (B.M. 9135.h.i.) Quotations infra are from the 5th edition: "*Written by Richard Knolles, sometime fellowe of Lincolne Colledge in Oxford. With a new continuation from ye yeare of our Lord 1629 unto the yeare 1638, faithfully collected. . . printed by Adam Islip. 1638*": folio: 1501 pages; and prelims, indices; also Knolles's supplementary "*Discourse of the Greatnesse of the Turkish Empire: As also wherein the greatest strength thereof consisteth: And of what power the bordering Princes, as well Mahometans as Christians are in comparison of it*" (15 pp. unnumbered). Subsequent "*Continuation*" from 1628 is by Thomas Nabbes, "*Collected out of the Dispatches of Sir Peter Wyche, Knight, Embassador at Constantinople, and others*" (31 pp. with dedication to Sir Thomas Rowe).

² Knolles; dedic: epistle to K. James I.

³ Speech of "Partan Bassa." "*Generall Historie of the Turkes.*" p. 876.

⁴ Reign of "Selymus" (Selim) II. Knolles, op: cit, pp. 876-877.

"seventh of October in the afternoone," understood by their scouts that "the Turks fleet was coming, and even now at hand":

"Whereupon the Generall" (Don John) "commanded the great Ensigne of the confederates (the appointed signall of battell) to be forthwith displaied, and a great warning peece to be shot off out of his Admirall gally.¹ And himself glittering all in bright armor, with Cardona, Admirall of Sicilia, and Soto his secretary, in a long boat went to all the squadrons of the fleet one after another, exhorting them with cheerefull countenance to follow their leaders, and to play the man: remembering that they that day carried in their hand the wealth, honour, glory and liberty of their countries, yea and the very religion of their forefathers; and that daies victory would bring unto them and theirs perpetual felicity: whereas otherwise if they should suffer themselves to be overcome and vanquished, it would be . . . the beginning of all manner of most wofull calamities."

"To which and other his like speeches the Captaines and souldiers (before of themselves cheerefull enough), in every place where he came" gave a "joyfull cry of Victoria, Victoria; and the Captaines throughout the fleet" left "nothing unsaid" that might hearten their men to meet and overcome the "barberous and cruell enemy."

"Neither were the Turks wanting." "Encouraged with their former victories, and furthered with a faire gale of wind," they came on proudly; their fleet "orderly and gallantly set, after their wonted manner in the form of a Croisant or halfe-Moon their fortunat ensign."

(" *Their fortunat ensign* " ! Each time a Christian saw the Turkish flag, it was a reminder of one of the worst disasters which ever reduced the power and prestige of Christendom: namely the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by the Sultan Mahomed II: after which the Turks had used the Christian Arms of Constantinople, three crescents, as a perpetual trophy of their conquest.)

The Commandator-Major of Castile (Don Luis de Requesens) urged that the Christian forces, being greatly outnumbered, should retire. Don John retorted, "The time for counsel is past. The time for fighting has begun. . . We are here to conquer or die as Heaven may judge fit. Do not let our foe ask us 'Where is your God?' But so fight in God's name that whether in death or victory we may merit eternal life."²

As the Turks advanced, they had one disadvantage: the sun "shining full in their faces, with his bright beams so dazzled their eies that they could not well see how to their most advantage to direct their galleys."

"In this fleet of the Turks were two hundred and fifty gallies, fifty galiots, and twenty brigandines and other small vessels: all which afar off shewed like a thicke wood, but cumming neere hand presented (as we said) the forme of a Croisant."

The enemy Commanders were "all men of great account and place, and for their experience at sea the chief strength of the Turkish Empire." Among those "in the left wing was Uzales the old arch-Pyrat," now Viceroy of Algiers, with ninety-five galleys and "a multitude of pyrats, men of his own profession, but most valiant and expert souldiers . . ."³

¹ i.e. flagship.

² Stirling Maxwell. Op: cit, ante.

³ Knolles means that the 95 Algerine galleys were included in the 250 which he gives above as the number of Turkish galleys. The total (of galleys, galiots, and brigantines) comes out at 320. For various computations of figures see Table, ante, *The battle of Lepanto*.

"Now was the day well spent¹ when both the fleets were ready to give battell; the enemy still coming on in the same order that the Christians did": that is to say the Turks' main squadron ("middle battell") came against Don John's own squadron, "and their wings against ours." "The signall of battell on both sides" was given by the shooting off of certain great pieces.

A crucifix had been raised aloft in each Christian ship; and the Captains, mariners, and all ranks fell simultaneously on their knees in prayer.

Don John's bugles sounded cheerily; the Christians rose from their knees and stood to their action stations; the Turks "after their maner coming on with a hidious cry."

Don John had kept a reserve of six galleasses "lying at anchor almost a mile before the fleet, as most strong bulwarks." The Turks assuming these vessels to be mere "carts" for provisions, "unserviceable" for war, went past them without anticipating an attack; whereon were discharged "whole broadsides, first the one and eftsoons the other upon them," drawing first blood and sinking several of their gallies. This "the more troubled the Turks" in that such use of galleasses was "not known" to them, until they received thereby such "notable harme": "which as it was the beginning of their misery, so was it unto the Christians of greatest importance" as a prelude to victory.

"At which time also," (relates Knolles), "the wind which all that day had much favoured the Turks, was now (God no doubt fighting his owne battell) come about to the West, and with a pleasant gale in the time of the fight carried the smoke of the great ordnance upon the Turks to their no small disadvantage."

Yet despite this initial "losse and disorder in their fleet, the fierce enemy, with wonderful pertinacitie passing by those galleasses, quickly repaired again to their places, and made good their disordered squadrons, and with all their force assailed the Christian fleet.

"The trumpets, drums and other instruments of war had scarcely wel sounded when all shook with confused cries, flames of fire, thundering of artillery, and other noise of the mariners and seamen, wherewith many were so astonied as if they had bin both deaf and blind, having upon the sudden almost lost the use both of their sight and hearing."

Although from the time the employment of artillery became general, archery was doomed, its abandonment was not immediate, even in the Turkish Army: "a man might have seen whole showers as it were of arrows and darts mixt with the deadly shot, flying from one fleet to the other; the masts broken, the saile yards strucke downe, the tackles rent; and all confused with horror and fear."

The flagships were easily to be recognised by their ensigns; and a duel had begun almost at once between the two Admirals, supplemented by "the strongest gallies in the fleets and the choicest men in the armies": both sides fighting "with like hope and courage."

Thrice the Turks were driven "even unto the maine mast; and thrice, strengthened with new supplies, they with great slaughter repulsed the Christians."

¹ It was 2 p.m.

Doria, the Genoese Admiral, "about 77 yeres old," performed "all the parts of a brave youthful commander in the face of the greatest danger." Colonna "the Pope's Admirall," a "valiant chieftain," and the Knights of St John from Malta, vied with "the Admiral of Genoa" and many another of renowned name, most valiantly with "worthy resolution" to rally their men.

"Seldom hath bin seene a more cruel fight or more resolute Captains." The upshot "of long time stood doubtful As fortune offered to every man his enemy, so he fought, . . so was here and there sometime victory and sometime losse . . . The chance of war in one place lifteth up the vanquished, and in another overthroweth the victorious": until at last "the Turks seemed now rather to defend themselves than to assaile their enemies."

(While we read of the fight, upon which, in Knolles's eyes and those of his contemporaries, turned the fate of Christendom, it is almost as if we were in the midst of it. Even as in North's Plutarch, the "noble Grecians and Romanes" live again, so also the narrative of this "scholar of Lincolne College, Oxford" has a vividness arising less from conscious art than from ardent interest in the matter related).

"Now had Don John, with like courage and strength, but with doubtfull victory, fought three hours and more with Haly Bassa,¹ when after so dreadful and dangerous a fight, and many a deadly wound on both parts given and received, our men began to faint; and, brought to the uttermost of their devoire, were in danger to have beene overcome, had not Don John betaken himselfe unto his only and last refuge."

He had reserved under the hatches four hundred men "for their valour chosen out of the whole army." At a given signal they launched a surprise attack. It was then that Don John succeeded in boarding the enemy flagship.

After hard fighting, "sword to sword," Admiral Ali Pasha was slain: the same who in the morning had boasted of the Moslems as "always" victorious against Christians. Slain also was a "famous pyrat,"—Christian born, a ferocious renegade,—and by his death the Christians were "delivered of great fear."

When the Turks saw Don John's banner hoisted on their own "Admiral" (flagship), they fell into confusion. Many "with might and main made toward the land, which was not much more than ~~a~~ mile off." Meanwhile such "poore Christians" who as galley slaves had been obliged to row their Turkish task-masters against the Allied Fleet, were heartened to "break off their gyves, . . and with such weapons as first came to hand lustily laid about and furthered the victory."

Nevertheless "the fortune of the battle yet stood doubtful." There were on both sides "most valiant and expert commanders, wel known the one to the other, for that they had so long used the same seas," and they were "equall for their

¹ Ali Pasha.

military discipline as also for their noble acts"; but "*far unequall for number of their gallies,*" the Turks having "*of one sort and other almost twice as many.*"

Knolles calls it a "*long fight*" when after five hours Don John prevailed. To us what seems remarkable is the brevity of such a decisive battle, and the relatively small casualties of the victors. "The number of Turks lost in this most famous battel could hardly be known," says Knolles, "by reason that many of them were drowned. Antonius Guarnerius writing the history of this war reporteth two and thirty thousand to have perished: but they which write more sparingly thereof reported not past halfe so many to have been slaine."

Not only Ali Pasha, the Admiral, but General Mustapha, Governor of Alexandria, and the Governor of Chios, were among the slain; also the Governor of Rhodes, (which island had been captured a generation earlier from the Knights of St John, after the famous defence under Villiers de L'Isle Adam).

Of the enemy seamen, the Viceroy of Algiers—whom Knolles calls alternately "*Uzales*" and "*Uluzales,*" and describes as a "*crafty old pyrat,*"—seeing the Turkish fleet in process of being sunk and captured, and having lost more than half his own squadron, turned, and, flying "*for life with sailes and oares escaped with thirty (or as some say forty) gallies.*" Another "*five and twenty gallies and ten galliots*" also survived, to creep back into the bay of Lepanto; and this was all that remained to Sultan Selim II of his magnificent fleet which the same forenoon had set sail so proudly.

According to Knolles, "*an hundred three score and one*" of the Turkish ships were captured by Don John and the Allied Navies; exclusive of forty which were "*sunke or burnt,*" and of the galliots and other smaller vessels, of which "*about fifty*" fell into the hands of the Christian victors.² The "*Admirall*" was the most notable of the prizes: "*so goodly and beautiful a vessell that for beauty and richnesse scarce any in the whole Ocean was comparable unto her.*"

"The deck of this gally was on both sides thrice as great as any of the others, and made all of blacke Walnut tree like unto Ebony, checkered and wrought marvellous fair, with divers lively colours and variety of histories. There was also in her divers lively counterfeits, engraven and wrought with gold, with so cunning hand that for the magnificence thereof it might well have been compared unto some princes palace. The cabbins glistered in every place with rich hangings wrought with gold twist, and set with divers sorts of precious stones, with certaine small counterfeits most cunningly wrought. Besides this, there was also found in her great store of the Bassa's³ rich apparell: wrought with the needle so curiously and richly embossed with silver and gold, that his great lord and master Selymus⁴ himselfe could hardly put on more royall or rich attire."

Don John presented Ali Pasha's casket, with six thousand ducats in it, to a Greek, borne in Macedonia, who had slain him; and also gave the Greek "*the Burrell of the Turkes standard*"; which the Venetian Senate bought from him

¹ See Table of figures, ante.

² "*General Historie,*" etc. 5th ed: p. 883, parag: F. Compare with Appendix A. *Dispatches.*

³ Ali Pasha's. ⁴ Sultan Selim II.

afterwards. "It was all of massive silver, gilt and engraven round about with Turkish letters" to the effect that God would favour the followers of Mahomet. But on this occasion it was the "poore Christian galley slaves" who rejoiced; "of whom twelve thousand were thereby delivered from most miserable thraldome, and contrary to all hope restored to their ancient liberty."

The victory of the Allied Christian Navies, though much had depended on individual gallantry, "was in a great measure to be ascribed to the admirable tactics of their chief." Don John "had the merit or the good fortune of bringing his forces into action in the highest moral and material perfection; of placing admirable means in the hands of men whose spirit was in the right temper to use them. He struck this great blow at the happy moment when great dangers are cheerfully confronted and great things accomplished."

The valour of the Turks cannot be questioned. But genius as well as courage,—destiny as well as determination,—are vital factors in warfare. Superior tactics and more skilful gunnery had won the day. And so thorough had been Don John's methods, so efficient the nettings and other means taken by him to protect the bulwarks of his galleys, that he was able to write to his Sovereign half-brother that not a single Turk had succeeded in setting foot on the decks of any ship which flew the flag of the Holy League: a remarkable triumph, when fighting was done at close range, and to board the enemy was the aim of both sides.

King Philip complimented Don John on "the great courage" he had shown in battle "by planning and ordering it all in person," and Pope Pius sent him a silver shield, inscribed "*Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.*"

In the hour of victory Don John's mercy to prisoners, his modesty and magnanimity, were as generous-minded as his valour had been dauntless. He arrogated little or no credit to himself, but was intent upon winning praises for his allies and subordinates.

("If it were now to die,
'Twere now to be most happy; for I fear
My soul hath her content so absolute
That not another comfort like to this
Succeeds in unknown fate.")

These words, afterwards spoken on the stage by Othello, recur to memory; for the exploit which won Don John his world-wide reputation was the end of his personal happiness. The jealousy of his royal half-brother was to shadow him thenceforth to the end).

The victory was soon announced to Queen Elizabeth by the Doge of Venice.

¹ Stirling Maxwell, "*Don John of Austria*," Vol. I. p. 421.

His communication, in Italian, on parchment, docketed "19 Octob^r 1571 ye D. of Venice to y^e Q of y^e Victory against y^e Turk," now first sees the light.¹

"To the most serene and excellent Lady Isabella, by the grace of God, the most illustrious Queen of England, France and Ireland, etc., Aloysius Mocenigo by the same grace Duke of the Venetians etc. greetings . . .

"We have been informed by our Captain-General of the Sea that on the 7th of this month, the fleets of the Holy League fought the Turkish Navy, consisting of 300 sail; and have defeated and dispersed it, so that only a very few ships escaped; the Bassa and nearly all the chief (officers) have been cut to pieces: which was accomplished between Curzolari and Caspapa, places near the Morea.

"We wished to send the news of this victory to your Majesty, because, having always known your great affection towards our Republic, we are sure that you will receive it with the satisfaction which it deserves. Wherefore we rejoice with you at such a signal gift, vouchsafed to us by our Lord God, opportunely in such troublous times: so that one must hope the way will be opened to yet greater achievements.

"From our Ducal Palace the XIX day of October . . . 1571."²

This hope that the Christian triumph would prove a precursor of "yet greater" was widely shared. But "Uluzales" the Algerine who had saved the remnant of his forces and fled from the battle, was to be instrumental in helping to reconstruct the Ottoman Navy; and Sultan Selim II, though so heavily defeated, was yet rich enough to rebuild his ships:

"No prince in the World hath greater or better means to set forth his fleets than hath he; for the overgrowne woods of Epirus and Cilicia, and, more than they, those of Nicomedia and Trapezond, are so great and thick and so full of tall trees fit for the building of ships and gallies of all sorts, as is almost incredible. *Neither wanteth he store of shipwrights and carpenters, . . . large pay drawing even the Christian skilfull carpenters and workers into his Arsenal at Constantinople, Synope, Gallipolis, and others.*"

The Sultan thus, "in fresh remembrance, the next yeare after that notable overthrow by him received at the Echinades (commonly called the battell of Lepanto), rigged up a fleet wherewith Uluzales his Admirall was not afraid to face the whole power of the confederate Christian Princes at Cerigo. . . His gallies he hath always in readiness at Lesbos, Chios, Rhodus, Cyprus, and Alexandria, and from the pyrats which he continually receiveth into the Ports of Tunis, Borgia, Tripolis and Algiers . . ."

As to ordnance he had "great pieces" captured in Hungary and Cyprus, extra to his own. "What store he hath of shot and powder he showed at Malta where he discharged above 60,000

¹ Translated from orig: S.P. Foreign Eliz: CXX. 1350. A modern hand (presumably that of the compiler of the Calendar), has docketed it, "Venice Royal Letter. 1571. Oct 9/19." But the Doge of Venice was not "Royal," and the double system of dating did not exist in 1571. It only began after Pope Gregory's pronouncement of October 1582 (Vol. IV). The Doge's letter is mentioned in Cal: S.P. Foreign, 1569-71. p. 551; but not epitomised.

² "*Ser.^{mae} et ex.^{mae} D. Isabellae Dei gratia Reginae Angliae, Franciae, et Hiberniae, Ill.^{mae} et coeterea Aloysius Mocenigo eadem gratia Dux Ventiar etc salutem, et sinceram delectionis affectum. Siamo auisati dal Cap^o: nostro General da mar, come alli sette del mese presente, le armate della santa lega haueano combattuta l'armata Turchesca, la quale era di 300 uelle, et l'haueano rotta, et dissipata in modo che non s'erano saluati senon pochissimi uasselli; essendo stati tagliati a pezzi il Bassà, et quasi tutti li principati di essa; et che segui tra Curzolari et Caspapa lochi vicini alla Morea. Di questi successi ne habbiamo voluto dare auiso alla Maestà Vostra, la quale hauendo Noi sempre conosciuta affettionatissima alla Rep^{ca} nostra, siamo certi, che si sia per receuer quella satisfatione che si conuiene. Inde ce ne rallegriamo con lei de così segnalato dono datoci de Dio nro signorre, opportunamente in tempi così travogliosi, del quale si deue sperare, che si sia per apprire la strada a progressi maggiori.*

Data in nostro Ducali Palatio Die XIX Octobris Indictione XV. M.D. LXXI.

Ser.^{mae} et ex.^{mae} D. Isabella Dei gratia Reginae Angliae, Franciae, et Hiberniae. Ill.^{mae} et coeterea." Unpublished Original. No seal. S.P. Foreign Eliz: Vol. CXX. No. 1350.

great shot; at Famagusta where he bestowed 18,000; and at Gulletta, where in the space of 39 days he by fury of his great ordnance overthrew the fortifications which the Christians had bin 40 yeares in building."¹

We shall yet come to a time when Philip II was to make peace with the Sultan, the better to facilitate Spanish projects against Portugal and England. Again and again devout Christian warriors had cause to renew the lamentation of the Ambassador de Busbecq that the Sultans were frequent gainers through perpetual jealousies between European Sovereigns.

"... the occasion that moveth the Turks to invade Europe, as also of the victories that they have obtained, hath growen of the dissensions, wickednes, treasons, disloyalties, idlenes, covetousnes, rashnes and mistrust of all states Christian, from the least to the greatest . . .

"It will be needlesse here to number the Empires, Realmes and Provinces" conquered by the Turks "within these two hundred yeres: for such as have been conversant in the world, or that they have perused the histories, will confess that they possess much more land than all Christendom doe containe . . ." which is the more lamentable as their government is "the most horrible and cruel tyranie that ever was: as being (as it seemeth) erected rather to overthrow all lawes, discipline and honestie than to maintaine them."²

But in the months following upon the battle of Lepanto, it seemed to the Christian Powers as if it must be long before the Sultan Selim could rally. And from Brussels on the 9th of November, 1571, the Duke of Alba wrote to Queen Elizabeth (in French),

"Very high, very excellent, and very powerful Princess.

"Knowing the desire which your Majesty always has had for the universal benefit of Christianity, particularly in regard to the King my master, I am glad to be able to advertise your Majesty of the good tidings of the victory which it has pleased God to give against the Turkish Army by Sea. But as I am so ill-treated by gout that it is impossible to me to sign this letter, I can only have it written and signed by the hand of another."

He refers her to information sent to the Ambassador, (Don Guerau Despes),³ and adds that he has received further confirmations of particulars, from which he now sees that "*the victory was even greater than they dared hope at the beginning.*"

"Not doubting that your Majesty will hear this very willingly; and that in sending you this word I do you an agreeable service, . . . as I wish to do, and will do on every occasion when I have the means. Very high, very excellent and very powerful Princess, I supplicate the Almighty to give to your Majesty in good health a long and happy life."⁴

It was from Don John himself that the Great Duke had heard of the battle.⁵ Subsequently Cardinal de Granvelle wrote on the same theme; adding a lament

¹ "A brieve Discourse of the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire (appended to Knolles, "Generall Historie," 5th ed: 1638.)

² "The Politicke and Militarie Discourses of the Lord De La Nouve. Whereunto are adjoyned certaine observations. . . . All faithfully translated out of the French by E. A. [Edward Aggas]. At London. Printed for T. C. and E. A. by Thomas Orwin, 1587." (21 Discourses), pp. 235-236.

³ Probably the letters of 8th and 20th Oct: 1572 now first translated, App: A. p. 95.

⁴ Now first translated from "Copie d'une lettre de son Exc^{te} a la Royne D'angleterre." S.P.F. Eliz: CXXI. 1371 (formerly 2135). Endorsed with date 1571, in contemp: hand. (Calendared but not published, S.P.F. 1569-71. p. 559).

⁵ Letter all in Don John's own hand, dated "Puerto Petala, en el golfo De Lepanto, 10 de Octubre de 1571." "Catálogo de las colecciones expuestas en las vitrinas del Palacio de Liria. Le publica La Duquesa de Berwick y de Alba. Madrid. 1898." No. 183, p. 176. (Published in "Documentos inéditos." p. 310). And see "Documentos Escogidos . . . de Alba," 1891, pp. 323-376.

that though the Turks were stricken, the heretics were still potent: as witness "*las persecuciones de la Reina de Inglaterra contra los Catolicos.*"¹

Such persecutions, however, were the inevitable retort of Queen Elizabeth to the proclamation of Pope Pius V (in 1569-70) that she was only a "pretended Queen," and that neither must her own subjects obey her nor any Catholic Power admit her right and title. If we are surprised to find the Duke of Alba calmly disobeying the Holy Father's prohibition, we may recall that it was this same Duke who had held Pope Paul IV his prisoner, when he captured Rome soon after the Emperor Charles retired to the monastery of Yuste.

That the Duke's readiness to do Queen Elizabeth service "*on every occasion when I have the means*" was not without irony, we will understand when we remember his previous hopes for her death, and consider how the Spanish Ambassador in England was behaving at this juncture. But before we examine the circumstances which led to the Queen ordering the Ambassador to depart from England, we must realise King Philip's position at the juncture when Burghley advised his Sovereign to stand upon her dignity against this mighty and victorious potentate.

Among foreign MSS docketed by Burghley, and left by him among "Council Chest" Records, for use by future historians,—but ignored until now,—is an Italian Discourse, by Franchiotti,² the prophecies in which are the more remarkable because uttered over sixteen years before King Philip's Great Armada sailed with confident expectation of annexing his "dearest sister's" island kingdoms.

He had intended to become master of England in 1569, if the Northern Earls had succeeded in their rising; and again in 1571 his hopes were high. Franchiotti shrewdly summarises the dangers ahead. Certainly Don John's victory delivers the Mediterranean for the moment from the Algerine corsairs. But it is chiefly the King of Spain who reaps the benefit of the allied effort. And though he has used and praised the Venetian Navy, let not the Venetians imagine that he is at heart their friend, or that the war is ended.

The Sultan's ships have been burnt, sunk or captured; but for how long will this hold the Grand Turk back? Has he not other squadrons? And can he not still afford to build as many new ships as he chooses? If he should concentrate an attack on Venice, what certainty is there of Spanish aid? Is not Philip II the son of the Emperor Charles, whose manner of protecting his own domains from the Sultan's aggression had been to encourage Turkish fury against the Venetian Republic?

Does not Venice wish to recover Cyprus, and part of the Morea, and so penetrate into Greece? But though this would be the fitting sequel to the battle

¹ Palacio de Liria MSS. Ib. No. 186. p. 178.

² S.P. Foreign Eliz: Vol. CXXII. No. 60. January 1571-2. Calendared, but not epitomised. A long and complicated contemporary analysis of European politics, now first examined.

of Lepanto, were Venice to formulate such a project she would find herself deserted by her Spanish Allies. For King Philip's intention is less to protect the Italian States than to absorb them; and he means to continue his campaigns till he becomes Lord of Africa.

He will then consolidate his powers in Italy; and the Pope will urge him to smite all the heretics. The detention of the Catholic Queen of Scots in captivity will afford a plausible pretext for war against the Queen of England. Then, having become the most powerful Monarch in Europe, Philip "placing his right foot on Africa," will be able to "lift the left foot and set it on our shoulders and on our heads." France likewise will be reduced to a vassal state; for the King is as crushing to his Allies as formidable to his enemies.

For more than three and a half centuries this forecast has been left unread. And our historians cling to the 19th century delusion that the Spanish menace was insubstantial, and King Philip a lethargic procrastinator; a fancy which not only throws out of gear the history of England but impedes comprehension of the conditions of the world during the last half of the 16th century.

How King Philip became master of the Indies, North Africa and Brazil,—thanks to the Duke of Alba,—and how this vast augmentation of power and riches, less than ten years after the battle of Lepanto, was to react upon Europe, we will in due course ascertain. But we will not understand the situation when Francis Drake returned from circumnavigating the Globe, unless we recall what happened in the years between the young Don John's signal victory by sea in 1571 and the veteran Duke of Alba's triumph at Lisbon in 1580. We can then relegate to shelves reserved for historical romance, all such writings as underestimate the statecraft, persistence, personal ability, vast resources, and yet more vast ambitions of Philip of Spain.

APPENDIX A.

"N[OSTRA] FELICISS[IM]A ARMATA": October 1571.

Despatches describing the battle of Lepanto:
now first translated from State Papers Foreign [Eliz:]. Vol. CXX, 1355.

The accuracy of Richard Knolles as to the main features of the battle of Lepanto can now be seen from comparison with unpublished descriptions received by Lord Burghley at the time. In one of these, dated "*Di Ven. li 20 ott^e 1571,*" the writer, apparently a Venetian, mentions how the foe had "a favourable wind" at first:

... "and our Fleet . . . came slowly by reason of the contrary wind: which, God be thanked, turned suddenly in our favour: which, however, made so much impetus as to cause us to collide with the enemy: who, fighting very bravely, did much damage to us; especially to the vanguard of the galleys. . . Don John of Austria stood on the deck of his galley, in white armour, with a standard in his hand . . ." He had previously gone through the fleet "encouraging us to fight, saying to each one, 'Follow me'"; as also did "Sr Marcant[onio] Colonna."

Don John's valour gave "greater courage to the others, to secure the victory; and he following it up finally by boarding the galley of Ali Pasha . . .

" . . . 7th October was the day of S^{ta} Giustina on which this sea-fight took place between the Christian Navy and the Turks. By the grace of God the victory remains with the Christians.

"The particulars are these":

180 Turkish galleys taken. 36 Turkish galleys sunk. 20,000 Turks cut to pieces. 5,000 taken prisoner. 14,000 Christian slaves ransomed.¹

[Of Venetian casualties]:

"16 Captains of galleys and another officer killed. 5 galleys lost. The venerable General wounded . . ."

"The said battle took place X miles from the Gulf of Lepanto . . ."

Another account of "our happy fleet," docketed "*Copia de una l[ett]ra mandata dall' armata X'iana alli 8 di ottobre 1571,*" is addressed "*All Ill^{mo} Sr mio S^{re} e padron Colmo il Sr don federico de toledo.*"²

The narrator, writing the day after the battle, attributes the triumph of "*n[ost]ra feliciss[im]a armata*" not only to Don John's valour but to his prayers, and to "divine inspiration." He does not give figures of the forces on either side, but relates how Don John "exhorted everyone to fight for the Christian faith against the enemy . . . saying that Christ was master and father, and the true

¹ "*Cent' ottanta galere turchesche prese
 trenta sei galere sommerse
 ventimilia turchi tagliati a pezzi
 cinq(ue) mila prigionieri
 quator dici mila schiavi X'iani riscossi*" &c., &c.

(Unpublished S.P.F. Eliz: CXX. 1355).

² Unpublished S.P.F.E. CXX. 1355.b. 9½ pp.

Calendared as to "Don Francisco de Toledo." The MS is clearly "*federico*." Both letters are almost devoid of punctuation, and contain very few capitals, even for proper names. Don Federico [Fadrique] was then serving with distinction in the Netherlands, under his father the Duke of Alba. It is therefore likely that the copy of this letter was not procured secretly by Burghley's spies, but openly received through the Spanish Ambassador in London.

See the Duke's own letter to Queen Elizabeth, ante p. 92.

Commander of his champions in this conflict . . . [which] evoked a joyous and valiant cheer from the crew, . . . and gave presage of hope for the happy issue.

"When the Fleet had been marshalled in order of battle, . . . his Highness returned to his galley; and approached the enemy's Fleet . . ."

It was then that the wind changed, and the sea "remained in a great calm." The galleys therefore were able to "discharge their artillery," with such force and noise that the Turks, coming on "in half-moon formation," were startled and "raised a cry."

There follows a description of the bravery of Doria, but how hard pressed he was that he must have been defeated, had it not been for help accorded by "Sr Marchese Santa Croce," [the Marqués de Santa Cruz] who commanded the galleys of the rearguard.

As the wind turned "south-west in our favour," the coming up of Santa Cruz was hidden from the enemy by "the smoke of the artillery," but perceptible to the Venetians he was hastening to aid. The energy of Don John of Austria in fighting and boarding the Turkish Commander's galley, "the admirable courage" shown on both sides, are warmly commended.

". . . finally the Turk was taken"; and Don John with his own hand cut off the head of the mortally wounded Ali Pasha, "and stuck it on a pike"; as "Sr Marcantonio Colonna"—himself one of the bravest of the brave—would witness.

". . . this conflict was begun on the 7th, . . . at two hours of the day; and in 5 hours, with divine help, the Christians obtained the very happy victory; having cut to pieces nearly all the principal Turks . . ."

"The allied victors agreed to "treat each other with great affection, that all be blessed of God and the beatifical Virgin, to whom always praise and glory."¹

¹ La Fuente, "*Historia de España*," ed: 1889, Vol. X, gives as chief authorities for the battle the Correspondence of Don Juan of Austria with Don Garcia de Toledo, from the Archives of the Ducal House of Villafranca, included in Vol. III of "*Documentos inéditos*": Also MSS in the Biblioteca Nacional [Madrid] and the Simancas State Papers. He remarks that "Fogliata, Parutta, Contarini, Torres Aguilera, Arroyo, Servia and others have well described the battle"; and that "Ferrente Carracciolo, Count de Biccari, who in his galley fought side by side with Quirini's, supplies detailed information on the order and course of the fight in *I Commentari della Guerra fatta con Turchi*. Roselli in his Memoirs, Appendices VIII and IX, inserts the list of names of galleys and Captains of both fleets." (There is also a complete list of the galleys and Captains on both sides, appended to Catena's "*Vita del gloriosissimo Papa Pio Quinto*." Rome. 1586, pp. 355-367).

La Fuente considered the minor differences of the historians insignificant, and states that "all agree in the essentials," certainly all agree that the Turkish losses were enormous; but the figures vary considerably, as the table now appended to the Sala Regia picture, *ante*, will show.

The English reader usually derives his notions of the battle of Lepanto from Sir William Stirling Maxwell's "*Don John of Austria*," (1883) which is exceedingly spirited and graphic; or from "*The Navy of Venice*," by Alethea Wiel (Murray 1910), the illustrations of which are interesting: especially bas-relief carving in the Church of San Giuseppe di Castello (p. 248), and folding plate of the Battle from a painting by Vicentino in the Doge's Palace. The paucity of footnote references in "*The Navy of Venice*" is to be regretted in relation to the battle of Lepanto: (pp. 255-277); for Spaniards, Austrians, Venetians, Genoese, Romans, and Maltese looked at it from their different points of view; and to appreciate their evidence we should know the nationality of each informant; likewise whether he was a mariner, soldier, or civilian.

The Bibliography is mostly Italian and French; a few English works are included; but not Knolles's "*Generall Historie of the Turkes*," 1603. As Miss Wiel does not give references to the battle in the MSS among our own State Papers Foreign, the material calendared in the volume for 1569-71 is here undernoted for convenience of students:

p. 551: The Doge of Venice to Q. Elizabeth. (First published "*Eliz: Eng:*" as also are the items of 20th & 8th Octo:)

p. 553: (1) Oct: 20th. (2097) *Advices from Venice* . . .

(2) Oct: 8th. Copy of letter addressed to Don Francisco de Toledo. Italian, pp. 9½. (For 'Francisco' read Federico).

- p. 556: Oct. 30. 2111. *News from Antwerp*: copy of a letter from Tomaso Tiesco, at Brussels, on defeat of Turkish fleet. Italian. pp. 1½.
- p. 560: Nov. 17. 2128. *News from Italy*:
 (1) Rome, 10 Nov: Division among the members of the League, of galleys and spoil taken from the Turks.
 (2) Venice, 17 Nov: Public rejoicings for the victory. Venetian losses. Ital: pp. 7.
- p. 563: Nov. 24. 2137. *News from Italy*:
 (1) Rome, 17 Nov: Details of the battle as brought to Rome (and other business). Dismay of Turks at Constantinople.
 (2) irrelevant other business. Ital: pp. 6½.

Also Cal: *S.P. Foreign*. 1572-74:—

- p. 34: Janry. 1572. 100. Discourse of Franchiotti on the results of the battle of Lepanto; pp. 4¾.
 First epitomised in "*Eliz: Eng:*" ante, pp. 93-94.

As to other Calendars, the *S.P. Venetian* merely give references to the arrival of convoys bringing news from the Venetian Ambassadors in Paris; and the Cal: *S.P. Spanish* contains only two items in regard to the battle: one dated London, 22 Nov: 1571, to Ruy Gomez de Silva, Prince of Eboli, states that a separate report is enclosed describing the "discourses" in London in this connection; but the report is missing. The other, dated Madrid, 3rd Decr. is an extract from a letter of King Philip.

APPENDIX B.

POPULAR GEOGRAPHY OF THE 16th & 17th CENTURIES.

"I do remember that being a youth, and one of Her Majesties scholars at Westminster, . . . it was my hap to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt my cosin, . . . when I found lying open upon his board certain books of Cosmographie, with an universal Mappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view thereof, began to instruct my ignorance, by showing me the division of the earth into three parts after the old account, and then according to the latter and better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the known Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedoms and Territories of each part, with declaration also of their special commodities, and particular wants, which by the benefit of trafficke, and entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied."

Hakluyt's Dedication of his "*Principall Navigations,*" to Sir Francis Walsingham,
 "Principal Secretarie to Her Majestie, Chancellor of the Duchie of Lancaster,
 and one of Her Majesties most honourable Privie Councill." 1589.
 (B.M. No.: G.6604).

After the conquest of a large part of Hungary in 1526, by the Sultan of Turkey, his capture of Rhodes, 1523, and of Algiers previously, and of Tunis in 1534, the struggle of the Christians to prevent supremacy of the Turks in the regions of the Danube and the Mediterranean became increasingly acute. Had it not been for the power, prestige, wealth, and valour of the Hapsburg Empire, and of Spain, the Turkish Moslems might have become the absolute and pitiless masters of Europe: a probability forgotten to-day by Englishmen, it being a current delusion that the Hapsburg dynasty was "worthless" and the Spanish seamen "out of date."

Elizabethan correspondence includes many instructions how to travel. The counsels of Sir Philip Sidney to his brother Robert, and, later, those of Robert Earl of Essex to Roger Earl of Rutland recur to memory. But for popular notions we should go from fact to romance: the "*Historie*" of Dr Faustus the necromancer, "*Newly imprinted and . . . amended, according to the true copie printed at Franckfort, and translated into English by P.F. Gent . . . 1592.*"¹

¹" . . . the damnable life and deserved death of Doctor John Faustus . . ." B.M. No. C. 27. b. 43.

Mephistopheles promises to show the "insatiable" Doctor all the kingdoms of earth; and if we did not know the approximate date of the German original we could infer it, because Emperor Charles who died before Queen Elizabeth's accession, and the Grand Turk (Solyman, ob. 1566) are the two chief potentates.

Faust when wishing to convey a sense of the magnitude of certain planets, declared some to be "*so great as the whole Empire of Rome; some as of Turkie,*" and only one "*so great as the whole world.*"

In a letter to "a friend at Liptzig, a Physician" (Chapter XXI) Dr. Faustus describes how a carriage drawn by four dragons took him his first aerial voyage; whence he saw "many kingdoms and provinces, likewise the whole world. Asia, Europa, and Africa I had a sight of." And he bade Mephistopheles explain "how these kingdoms lie and what are they called." The fiend answered, "See this on our left hand is Hungaria, this is also Prussia on our left hand, and Poland, Muscovia, Tartascesia, Bohemia, Saxony. And here, on our right hand, Spain, Portugal, France, England and Scotland: . . . before us lie the kingdoms of Persia, Arabia, the King of Alcar, and the great Cham. Now are we come to Wittenberg; and are right over the town of Wien and ere long will we be at Constantinople, Tripolie and Jerusalem; and after will we pierce the frozen Zone, and shortly touch the Horizon, and the Zenith of Wittenberg.

"There looked I on the Ocean-Sea and beheld a great many ships and galleys ready to battle . . ."

Again, after fifteen years, "Doctor Faustus made his journey through the principal and most famous lands in the world"; Mephistopheles appearing in the likeness of a flying horse:

"Doctor Faustus sat loftily upon him, and forward they went . . . [to] Pannonia, Austria, Germania, Bohemia, Slesia, Saxony, Missine, During, Francklandt, Shawblandt, Beyerlandt, Stiria, Carinthia, Poland, Litaw, Lievland, Prussia, Denmarke, Muscovia, Tartarie, Turkie, Persia, Cathae, Alexandria, Barbaria, Ginnie, Peru, the straits of Magalanes, India," and "all about the frozen zone." "*Terra Incognita*" also was visited, but where found is not divulged. To "Nova Hispaniola" they went; and to "the Isles of Terzera, Mederi, St. Michaels, the Canaries, and the Tenorrfocie, into Spain, the Meyne Land, Portugall, Italie, Campania, the kingdom of Naples, the Isles of Sicilie, Malta, Majorca, Minorca, to the knights of the Rhodes, Candie or Creete, Ciprus, Corinth, Switzerland, France, Freesland, Westphalia, Zeland, Holland, Brabant, and all the seventeen provinces in the Netherlands; England, Scotland, Ireland, all America, and Island [Iceland], the out Isles of Scotland, the Orchades, Norway, the Bishopie of Breame, and so home again."

All this Dr. Faustus saw in twenty-five days; but was not satisfied, and so he conjured Mephistopheles to take him forth again to see more in detail. At Paris "he liked well the Academy." In Naples he was pleased with the "great and high houses of stone, the streets fair and large . . . all the pavement of the City was of brick, and the more it rained in the town the fairer the streets were." He made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Virgil; and marvelled at "the highway that he cut through the mighty hill of stone in one night, the whole length of an English mile."¹

"Then he saw the number of Galleys and Argosies that lay there at the City head, the Windmill that stood in the water, the Castle in the water"; and the houses above, overlooking that part of the harbour "whereunder the Galleys might ride most safely from rain or wind." He admired "the Castle on the hill over the town, and many monuments there"; and "the hill called Vesuvius, whereon groweth all the Greekish wine, and most pleasant sweet olives."

A visit to Rome, and the "immeasurable and sumptuous luxury" at the Vatican, is described from a pugnaciously Protestant standpoint. "Fie, (quoth Faustus) why had not the Devil made a Pope of me?"

To Cologne he goes, and to "Ach" [Aix] where he saw the tomb of Charlemagne: thence to Strasburg, and Basile, whereat the River of Rhine runneth through the town, parting the same, as the River of Thames doth London."

¹ Survival of the mediaeval legend that Virgil was a magician.

After staying at Nuremberg,—where in St. Laurence's Church "hangeth all the reliques of Carolus Magnus, that is his cloak, his hose and doublet, his sword and Crown, his Sceptre and his Apple,"—Faustus passed through Bavaria and Bohemia; and thence "to see more wonders," via Hungaria and Transylvania, to Constantinople "where the Turkish Emperor kept his Court." After this and other adventures he came back to Wittenberg, having been absent a year and a half.

His next travels included visits to "India, Cataia, Africa, Persia," "Barbaria among the Blackamoors"; the Isle of Brittany,¹ and "the Orchades beyond Scotland" (repeating the current 16th century story of the solan geese being born from trees). Next "he went to the hill of Caucasus which is the highest in all that tropic . . . hereon Faustus stood and beheld many lands," and "thought to look over all the world and beyond; for he meant to see Paradise," but "durst not commune" with Mephistopheles thereof. Seeing "the whole land of India and Sythia," as he looked towards the East he was dazzled by a "clear strike of fire coming from Heaven upon earth, even as it had been one of the beams of the sun." Then in the valley he beheld "four mighty waters springing": one flowing towards India, the second towards Egypt, the third and fourth towards Armenia. He asked his guide "from whence they came." And Mephistopheles answered,

"It is Paradise that lieth so far in the East, the garden that God himself hath planted with all manner of pleasure; and the fiery stream that thou seest is the walls or defence of the garden. But that clear light . . . is the Angel that hath the custody thereof, with a fiery sword. And although thou thinkest thyself to be hard by, thou art yet farther thither from hence than thou hast ever been. The water that thou seest, divided in four parts, is the water that issueth out of the well in the middle of Paradise. The first is called Ganges or Phison, the second Gihon or Nilus, the third Tigris, and the fourth Euphrates; also thou seest that he standeth under Libra and Aries right up towards the Zenith; and upon this fiery wall standeth the Angel Michael with his flaming sword to keep the Tree of Life, the which he hath in charge."²

But leaving Faustus, let us turn to "*A Geographical Dictionary. In which are described the most Eminent Countreys, Towns, Ports, Seas, Streights and Rivers in the whole World. Very useful for the Understanding of all Modern Histories. The Fourth Edition Corrected. London. Printed by S.R. for Henry Brome at the gun in St. Paul's Churchyard, at the West end, 1681.*"³

Although this edition was issued after Queen Elizabeth had been dead 78 years, its spirit is Elizabethan. The "Stationer" conscious of the audacity of compressing "the whole World" into 171 duodecimo pages, approaches the "Courteous Reader" in a coaxing fashion:

"I here present you with a small copy of the World drawn by an English Pencil, from the Original of the Famous Monsieur Du Vall, Geographer to the French King.⁴ Though it seem too small a volume to perform the Promise the Title Page makes you, yet upon perusal" its brevity will be found "repaired by the convenience." Its modest proportions will enable you "to make it your constant Companion," for the better comprehension of History "Prerogative" and Commerce. "Peruse it and enjoy the benefit. Farewel. H.B."

That the "pencil" is "English" is evident; for the "*Thames*, commonly the *Temmes*," which "runs through London to Gravesend" is "the fairest and most pleasant River in the World." Though Leyden is "famous for its University" and yet more for "that memorable siege of the Spaniards it withstood in the year 1574," though Louvaine has an "eminent University" and

¹ Britain.

² Ch: XXIII, "How Faustus had a sight of Paradise."

³ B.M. possesses "*The Third Edition Corrected. London. Printed by M.C. for Henry Brome . . . 1678.*" 132 pp. and 7 pp. of "*catalogue of some Books Printed for and sold by H. Brome, since the dreadful fire of London . . .*" (No. 10003. aa. 23).

⁴ i.e. "*Memoirs Geographiques de tous les Pays du Monde: avec Plusieurs Observations Historiques. Par P. Duval d'Abbeville, Geographe du Roi. A Lyon, chez Jean Certes, Marchand Libraire, rue Merciere a la Trinité. MDCLXXVI. Avec Privilege.*" B.M. No. 571. a. 22. 12mo. 530 pp. 2 small maps of the world (hemispheres).

Wittenberg is renowned "for its fortifications, University, Regence of Luther, and residence of the Electors," Oxford is "*the most eminent University in the World.*"¹

By 1681 "Sultan Solymán the Magnificent" had been dead 115 years,² but still the Turk possessed a large proportion of the kingdoms and territories which Solymán and his successor Selim dominated. In 1675 had reappeared the Elizabethan "*History of the Seven Champions of Christendom*," written by a London prentice, describing many conflicts against "Infidels" and Paynims.³ In 1683 two years after the publication of the fourth edition of the "*Geographical Dictionary*," Vienna,—defended by Count Rüdiger von Starhemberg,—was yet to be surrounded on three sides by vast Turkish Armies; and relieved only at the twelfth hour, by King John Sobieski of Poland, under whose banner fought English "voluntaries," including a great-great-grandson of Queen Mary of Scots.⁴

The following entries in the "*Geographical Dictionary*" speak for themselves:—

"*Bulgaria*, a Province of Europe under the subjection of the Turk";

"*Cairo*, the chief City of Egypt, and second of the Turkish Empire, near to which are built the Pyramides, one of the seven wonders of the World";

"*Croatia*, a Province in Europe, divided between the Turk and the House of Austria";

"*Damascus*, the chief Town of Phoenicia, residence of a Bashaw, famous for its good grapes and excellent blades . . ."

"*Derbent*, a Town in Georgia, seated upon the Caspian Sea, and belonging to the Turk."

"*Gran*, or *Strigonia*, a City and Archbishoprick in Hungary upon the Danube, now under the Turk; the Archbishop of that place is a perpetual Chancellor of that kingdom, and hath the honour to crown the King after he is elected."

"*Kanisa*, a Town in Hungary, the residence of a Turkish Bashaw."

"*Scutary*, a Town in Albany [Albania] upon the Lake of the same name, subject to the Turk."

"*Servia*, a Province of Europe; subject to the Turk."

"*Sues*" [Suez] "a Port Town of Ægypt, at the end of the Red Sea, the Turks Arsenal or Magazine."

"*Trebisond*, a Town in Anatolia, seated on the Black or Euxine Sea, anciently the head of an Empire, which was subject to the Turk by Mahomet the second who put the Emperor thereof to death."

"*Tripoly* in Barbary, a Town in a kingdom of the same name in Africa, and seated upon the Mediterranean Sea and subject to the Turk."

"*Turcomania*, a Province in Asia."

"*Valaquia*" [Wallachia] "a Principality in Europe, tributary to the Turk."

"*Varna*, a place in Bulgaria upon the Black or Euxine Sea, where the Turks gave the Christians a great overthrow."

As against all these dismal entries are only two in happier vein:

"*Lepanto*, a Town in Greece, where the Christians obtained a memorable victory over the Turks in 1571."

"*Malta*, an Island in the Mediterranean Sea, between Sicily and Africa, whose Knights are a considerable Bulwark of Christendom."

"*Are*," not "*were*": and such a "Bulwark" was still urgently needed even a century after Don John, as "Captain General of the Sea," led the Allied Fleets and Armies of the Holy League triumphantly against the forces of the Sultan Selim.

¹ Cambridge is "one of the two most famous."

² The concluding entry in the Dictionary is "*Zygeth*, a Town in Hungary, at the siege of which died the great Emperor of the Turks, *Solyman* the Magnificent, in the year 1566. *Finis.*" (p. 171).

³ 1st ed: 1596; the year Lord Essex sacked Cadiz; the same year as 2nd ed: of Spenser's "*Faerie Queene.*"

⁴ Dudley Rupert; illegitimate son of Prince Rupert.

PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION 6.

“To inflame our realm with Firebrands.”

(*The intended Spanish invasion of England, 1571*).

“ . . . seeking how he might crush it, so as to reign thereafter over the whole world.”

“*Legend of Ulenspiegel*” (on the ambitions of Philip II for the conquest of England).

De Coster. Atkinson's translation, 1922. Vol. II. p. 171.

“Her Majesty hath perceived that you are still more vehemently . . . using continual secret practices with her subjects, to alienate such as be good from their duties, and to irritate such as be unstable to commit horrible offences against their native country, by moving them to rebellions, upon comforts given by you of Invasions to be made at your appointment

Her Majesty commanded that you should have warning . . . to depart out of Her Majesty's realm within these three or four days”

The Privy Council to the Spanish Ambassador, Don Guerau Despes.

14 Dec: 1571. (pp. 112-113.)

“ . . . the said Despes increased his practices to disturb our State, to corrupt our Subjects, to styr up Rebellion, to promise . . . that the Kyng our good Brother will ayde them and mayntean them agaynst us ; . . . so as we can no more indure hym to contyneu than a Person that would secretly seke to inflame our Realm with Fire Brands : and hereuppon we have given hym order to depart”

Lord Burghley's draft for letter from the Queen to the Duke of “Alva.”

15 Dec: 1571 (p. 113.)

“ . . . hold yourself ready, in case the Duke of Alba writes to you at sea, to take any steps with this end ” (i.e. to invade England).

King Philip II to the Duke of Medinaceli. November, 1571,
allowing him 200,000 crowns for “*this English affair.*”

State Papers Spanish, Calender, II, p. 349.

(1) *MINIATURE OF JOHN HAWKINS, by Oliver.*

(2) *JEWEL GIVEN TO HIM BY QUEEN ELIZABETH.*

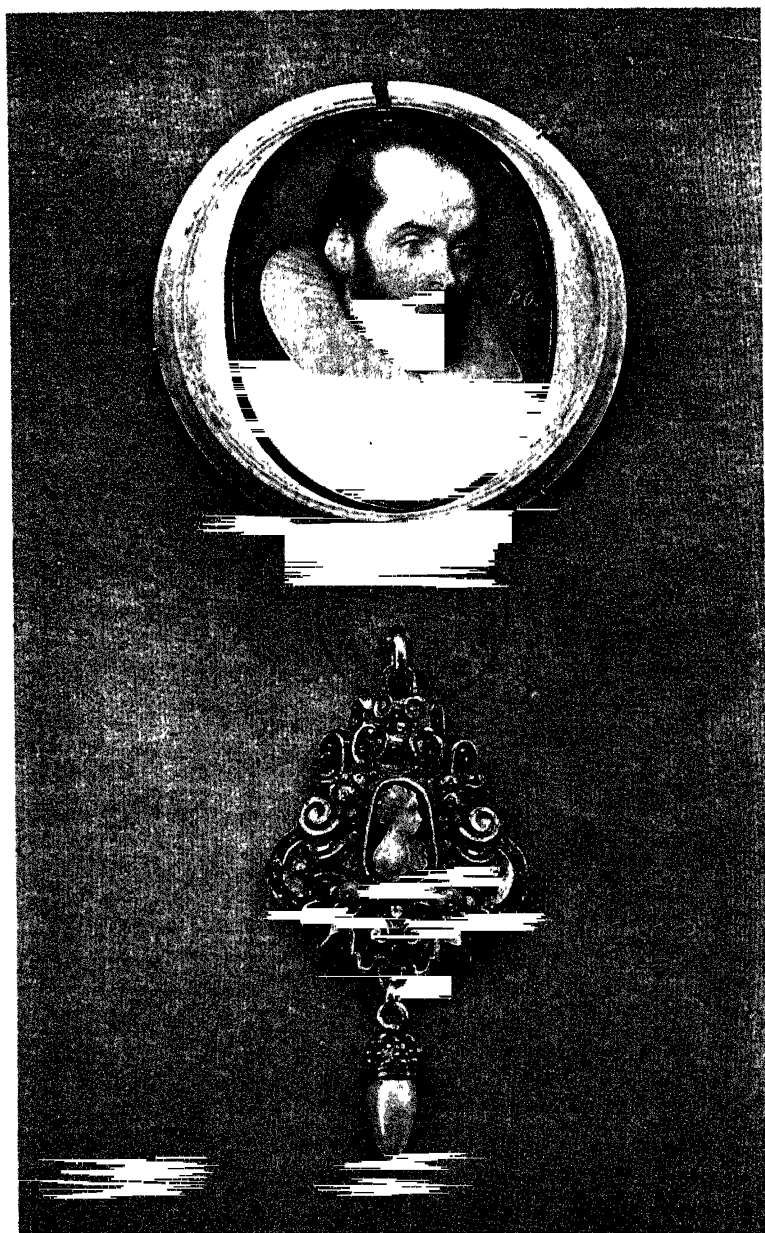
From the originals now in possession of The Earl of Rosebery, D.S.O., M.C.

The miniature (the same size as reproduction) has a blue background, and is framed in ivory. The jewel is in gold and enamels: vivid crimsons, blues and greens; with cameo and pendant pearl.

Purchased from Sir Henry Seale, Bart., by the late Baron M. A. de Rothschild, and given by him to his daughter the late Countess of Rosebery, these relics had been presented to Sir Henry Seale by Mary, daughter of John Henry Southcoat, who inherited them from her mother Joan Creed.

Thomas Hawkins (d. 1695), grandson of Captain William Hawkins (who was brother of the famous John Hawkins) had a daughter Judith, who married Peter Creed. Vide "A Genealogical Table of the Family of Hawkins of Devon" facing p. 176 of "*Plymouth Armada Heroes: The Hawkins Family. . . . By Mary W. S. Hawkins,*" Plymouth 1888, issued to subscribers only. See p. 70 of same work, extract from letter from Mary Southcoat, explaining that the two daughters of John Henry Southcote divided the Hawkins relics, she (Mary) the younger taking the miniature and jewel, and Harriet the elder keeping the "handsome gold chain" which had gone with the jewel. Mary Southcoat (who died in 1849) stated that the chain had vanished; "but John Luscombe Esq., of Combe Royal near Kingsbridge, Devon, says he well remembers to have seen amongst some old lumber of his Grandmother, Mrs. William Creed, a portrait of Sir John Hawkins wearing this jewel, and the chain round his neck. After his Grandmother's death the old lumber was sold, and with it this portrait."

(A portrait of Sir John Hawkins "*aetatis suae LVIII Anno Domini 1591*" will be included later, under date, from the original formerly in possession of Admiral A. M. Hawkins; now owned by the Mayor and Corporation of Plymouth).



PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION 6.

“To inflame our realm with Firebrands.”

(The intended Spanish invasion of England, 1571).

AFTER appreciating Spanish martial chivalry in the person of Don John of Austria, *Capitan de la Mar* and victor of Lepanto, we must ascertain how the Spanish Ambassador was occupying himself in England “to inflame our Realm with Fire Brands” while Don John was smiting the “Paynims.”

Shrewd wits on the Continent had predicted that as the forces of the Grand Turk were disabled for a season, King Philip would be more at leisure to concentrate upon the subjugation of England; and precisely how “the Most Catholique King” had planned to carry out this conquest we shall discover by paying close attention to certain secret dealings on the part of the Duke of Feria and others, with Captain John Hawkins.

Having realised that the Northern Rising of 1569 might have succeeded, but for the vigour of the Army of the North under the generalship of Thomas Earl of Sussex, and the loyalty of the Army of the South under Ambrose Earl of Warwick and the Lord High Admiral, Edward, Lord Clinton; bearing in mind also the subsequent Papal declaration of 1569-70 that “Elizabeth the pretended Queen of England and all her heretical adherents” were cut off from “the body of Christ,”—and to be treated accordingly,—we must now come to the circumstances leading to the dismissal of the Spanish Ambassador in December 1571; the arraignment of Thomas Duke of Norfolk the following month, and his execution in June 1572.

As to the means by which Lord Burghley and Captain Hawkins discovered the renewed Spanish plot for the invasion of England, controversy has raged, and the most various and contradictory conjectures are given out with headlong impetuosity; many mistakes arising from omission on the part of the controversialists to study a private memo drawn up later by Hawkins.

It would be tedious to quote verbatim the assertions of authorities who have judged the case without the essential evidence. The controversialists in England are now divided into two groups: first, those who allege Hawkins to have been a traitor to his country, selling himself to the King of Spain; his villainy discovered at the twelfth hour by Burghley, who they say, instead of hanging Hawkins, preferred to keep him for the rest of his life with the rope metaphorically round his neck (*for twenty-four years, be it observed*); employing him in nefarious jobs, fortified by the thought that he could at any moment send the "pirate" to the gallows.

The other group states that Hawkins made overtures to Spain solely in order to discover Spanish secrets; and by a trick obtained the release of his seamen who had been captured at San Juan de Ulloa. Some argue he was justified in deceiving the Spanish King for the sake of delivering the unfortunate mariners from the dungeons of the Inquisition. Others denounce this as a "dirty" proceeding on the part of Hawkins: though the Spanish capture of his men, when on leave ashore in time of professed peace, does not shock these critics.

Spanish historians also differ as to Hawkins' character and intentions; some believing to this day that he was ready to transfer his allegiance from his own Sovereign to King Philip, had not the dismissal by Queen Elizabeth of the Spanish Ambassador deprived him of his chief colleague in the conspiracy.

It is superfluous to cite the *obiter dicta* of Froude and others upon what is now termed "The Ridolphi Plot." It will be more useful to go direct to Elizabethan MSS, which will bring us quickly into the midst of the circumstances. The most important is "*A Note from John Haukyns 1576 touchinge his intelligence with Spaine*" in 1571, only now seeing the light.¹ As the MS is not a chapter of autobiography addressed to the public, but a brief and secret recapitulation jotted down with a list of ships in a state of readiness for war,—also as it was drawn up for Burghley who possessed copies of the documents therein mentioned,—to bring it into conjunction with those documents, none of which are now with it nor with each other, will be the practical procedure. Time enough to pronounce upon the morality of these dealings when we have seen what they were.

As existing printed matter from modern pens has given impressions so various as to be confusing, we require now to recall that Hawkins, in peace time, had been attacked at San Juan de Ulloa, while he had Spanish guests dining on board to lull him into a false security; and that many of his own men then still ashore, were captured. How he rallied and fought, and after many adventures and sufferings succeeded in returning home, we have seen.

It having been impossible to rescue such of his men on land from whom he had been cut off, he was appalled to think of their probable fate; for the Spanish

¹ From orig: Cotton MS. Galba, C.V. ff. 263-264. In extenso App: A: with facsimile page.

Inquisition did not confine itself to torturing and burning the subjects of the King of Spain. All heretics were claimed as its lawful prey.

Where the men had been taken, or whether they were all together, or dispersed in different dungeons, Hawkins did not know.¹ Queen Elizabeth was at peace with the King of Spain, and though she had never acknowledged his right to be "Lord of the Ocean Sea," nor the validity of the Pope's presentation of the New World to Spain and Portugal with an embargo on heretics trafficking therein, she did not yet wish to go to war.

The Duke of Alba was still in the Netherlands with his old soldiers; conveniently adjacent for invasion of England. Though he corresponded with Her Majesty with the ceremonious courtesy proper to a Grandee of Spain, Burghley realised that these amenities soon might change to open defiance.

Hawkins had arrived home in January 1568-9. In '69 Sir William Cecil became fully aware of the Spanish plot against England. The powerful Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, as we have seen, were to raise the north in rebellion, possess themselves of Hartlepool as a port for their Spanish allies; and with Spanish aid, release Queen Mary of Scots, dethrone the heretic Elizabeth, and restore the country to obedience to Rome.

It was during this Northern rebellion that Hawkins received his first overtures from Spain. Systematic efforts were then being made to convert selected Englishmen to serve as secret agents for King Philip.

Even when Lord Sussex had broken the main force of the rising before any contingent of Spaniards could land,—and although he carried the war into Scotland in pursuit of the fugitives,—the King of Spain still persevered in his intention of acquiring control of England.

At that juncture George FitzWilliams was sent by Hawkins into Spain to the Court, to "obtain liberty" for the Englishmen in captivity. Then it was that the Duke of Feria—former Ambassador from Spain to England,—“practysed” with FitzWilliams, so that Hawkins “might be won to join the rebels of the North,” many of whom had fled but some of whom were still in England, biding their time in hope of yet receiving the promised Spanish assistance.²

The Duke of Feria, and the King's Secretary, dealt personally with FitzWilliams, and one of them wrote, in invisible ink, (only to become legible when the paper was held to the fire), a proposal which FitzWilliams brought back to Hawkins. The suggestion was that Hawkins should secretly enter the Spanish service. The “preamble” ran as follows:

““Seeing so that the principal end in these things, that be treated of, is the service of God and the restitution of the Catholic faith in the realm of England,

¹ The fates of some have since been ascertained, from the Records of the Inquisition in Mexico, by G. R. G. Conway: App: B. pp. 120-123.

² “A note from John Hawkins,” &c.

and to deliver it to Mary Queen of Scotland, to whom of right it doth appertain, John Hawkyns must see what way he thinketh best that he may and ought to take to attain this end and put it in execution.’”¹

With this, King Philip and the Duke of Feria each sent a ring to be delivered to Queen Mary of Scots; one of these adorned with an encouraging Latin ‘posy.’ A third ring was sent to Hawkins from the Duke.²

To know of foreign or other conspiracy against the Crown and not reveal it was High Treason. Penalty, death. So Hawkins immediately informed Queen Elizabeth of what he had received. She commanded that the tokens be delivered to the Queen of Scots, and that FitzWilliams should get from her whatever answer she intended to make to these overtures. After which, also “*By Her Majesty’s consent,*” Hawkins despatched FitzWilliams back to Spain to the King, with “particular answers to the Duke of Feria’s articles”:³ appearing to concur in the project for presenting the crown of England to the Queen of Scotland.

On receipt of these replies, the Duchess of Feria wrote Hawkins an approving letter, not now to be found. The Duke also wrote, and his eldest son “*confirmed with his hand the same friendship promised by his father,*”—to use Hawkins’s words; and the Duke’s letter still exists to prove them.

On the second visit of FitzWilliams to Spain, King Philip sent the captive Queen of Scots “a fair ruby” in another ring; and to Hawkins “a pardon for traffick into the West Indies.”

In consequence of his belief that Hawkins had been thus secured for the Spanish service, the King set at liberty some of the heretical seamen. Not being afflicted with the vice of parsimony, he “gave them money liberally.”

They who had looked to drag out their days in the galleys or in dungeons, or to end by fire, returned with Spanish gold in their purses, to the Captain who, with the Queen’s full knowledge and approval, perjured himself for their sakes and had thus learnt of the new plot against his Sovereign.

Hawkins’s own brief comment to Burghley upon this—when specifying what ships he had ready for war,—was “*The premisses considered, methought it doth sufficiently prove that the King wisheth as much hurt as he can to her Majesty, if he know which way to put her destruction in practice.*”⁴

Modern writers who have declared Hawkins a “traitor” to England, be they English or Spanish, were unaware that everything Hawkins did was done *with the consent and under the orders of his Sovereign*; and furthermore that as these dealings were the means of discovering what is now called the “Ridolphi” plot,—and as the discovery led to the prevention thereof,—the most zealous English patriot has nothing of which to complain.

¹ Spelling modernised from Unpublished Cotton MS. Galba C.V. f. 263; Hawkins’s quotation.

² Ib. ³ Ib. ⁴ Ib.

As the Duke of Feria and others strove in time of nominal peace to win Queen Elizabeth's subjects to consent to war against her, the success of such blandishments in the case of the Duke of Norfolk may naturally have encouraged the supposition that if the Queen's cousin could be seduced, much more easily could one of her Captains.

As to the morality of the various courses, the Duke of Feria and Captain Hawkins were each obeying their respective Sovereigns. It is the Duke of Norfolk whose surrender of his mind and conscience to the emissaries of the King of Spain was so surprising. Nobody had more cause to regret it in the end than he, as he recognised in the Tower at last, "*repentant . . . but now too late.*"¹ His plain duty was to have done what Hawkins did: immediately on receipt of Spanish overtures, to have communicated them to the Queen; instead of which the prospect of being made King Consort of Queen Mary allured him to his ruin.

Captain Hawkins, as we shall see, was not dazzled by Spanish offers of titles and rewards. But the Duke of Norfolk, K.G., of Her Majesty's Privy Council, who already possessed more honours than any other English subject, was beguiled in a fashion which would be incredible had it not happened.

Though conversant with the plot which Norfolk believed to be a profound secret, both the Queen and Lord Burghley were reluctant to think that the head of the House of Howard would have embroiled himself again, after Her Majesty's pardon to him previously on his expressing remorse when his other secret dealings had been discovered. To his case we will soon come; but first it is necessary to read a letter written by Hawkins to Burghley, in the autumn of 1571, during the course of the same proceedings which are set down briefly in Hawkins's retrospective note above quoted.²

"My very good lord.³

"May it please your hon(o)ur^o to be advertised that fitzWylliams ys retornyd from the Court of Spayne, where his message was acceptably reseaved both by the Kyng hym self, the Duke of ferye and others of hys prevy Counsell. His Dyspaches and answeere was wth great expedyson and wth great Continuance and favour of the Kynge.

"The artycles are to be sent to the ambassador with order allso for money to be payd to me by hym for the enterpryse to procyde wth all dyllygence.

"Ther pretence ys *that my power shold Joyn wth the Duke of Allvas power w^{ch} he dothe secretly provyde in flanders*, as well as wth the power w^{ch} cometh wth the Duche of Medyna⁴ out of Spayne: and so alltogether to invade this Realme and sett up the Queene of Scottes."

¹ Confession of the Duke, II. I. 7.

² There can be no controversy as to the 1576 statement ante, now first published App: A: for this letter of 4 Sep: 1571 (and other matter presently to be specified) tallies with Hawkins's 1576 summary.

³ Martin Hume, "*Two English Queens and Philip*" (1908) p. 318, gives as reference for this letter, "*Scottish State Papers, Mary, Vol. VI,*" no page; but it is in English State Papers Domestic *Elizabeth*. The abstract in Cal: S.P. Dom: issued in 1874 was so inadequate that no general historian realised from it how the current idea of the transaction was upset by it. It was first published in extenso in 1888 by Miss Mary Hawkins in "*Plymouth Armada Heroes. The Hawkins Family*": to subscribers only.

⁴ Medinaceli. See Cal. S.P. Spanish, II, p. 349.

We will understand that it was this Spanish plot for the invasion and conquest of England by the combined forces from Spain and from Flanders which made the projected marriage of the Duke of Norfolk with the captive Queen of Scots so clear a proof of his treason.

"They have practised with us," continues Hawkins, "for the bornynge¹ of her Maties shipes; therefore ther wold" (should) "be some good care had of them: *but nott as yt may appere that any thyng ys dyscovered, as yo^r Lships consideracion can well provyde.*"

"The Kinge hath sent a rubie . . . to the Queene of scottes wth letters also w^h in my Judgment were good to be delyvereyd: the letters be of no importance but his *message by word ys to comfort her, and say that he hath nowe none other care than to place her in her owne.*

"Yt were good also that the ambassador dyd make request unto yo^r Lshippe that fitz wylliams may have accesse to the Queene of scotts to render thanks for the delyvery of our prysoners . . ."

This will afford "good colour" for Lord Burghley to "conferre wth hym more largelye."

"I have sent yo^r Lship the copy of my pardon from the Kynge of Spayne, in the very order and maner I have yt. The Duke of Medina and the Duke of allva hath, every of them, one of the same pardons more amplefeyd to present unto me (although this be large ynough), wth very great tytells and honours from wth god delyver me.

"I send yo^r Lship also the copy of my letter from the Ducke of feria in the very maner as yt was wrytten wth his wyfe and sonnes hand on th' end.

"*Their practyses be very myschevyous and they be never Idell, but God I hope will confound them and torn ther devyses upon ther owne necks.*"

Not one of these enclosures is now with Hawkins's letter; for whereas Lord Burghley took thought for future historians and kept relevant matter together, Sir Thomas Wilson in the reign of James I, divided the State Papers arbitrarily into "Domesticall" and "Foreign": the upshot of which is that MSS which would have explained each other have been severed; and in regard to numerous transactions, parts have since been mistaken for the whole.

The Duke of Feria's communication, or rather the copy forwarded by Hawkins from Plymouth, on the 4th of September 1571, is still in existence, unpublished, among "State Papers Foreign." Dated from the Escorial on the 11th of August; and addressed "*Al muy mag^o señor El señor In^o Haquins,*" its affability is remarkable.²

¹ burning.

² Vol. CCXIX. Eliz: No. 1268. Not having seen Hawkins's explanatory letter, (nor reflecting that Spanish Dukes in the year 1571 did not usually address themselves in flattering terms to English seamen merely out of general benevolence,) the editor of Cal: S.P. Foreign 1569-1571 noted this letter in 1874 so briefly (No. 1916) that it never aroused any interest.

In the copy, seemingly made by a clerk who did not know Spanish, it runs as follows:

"Muy mag^o Sor

Con este caballero q' uino a procurar la libertad' de los prisioneros en los rescabi la carta de v.m' en laquel Al(h)a hecho todo lo q' Al(h)a podido Como lo referira? a quie me remito en todo lo Demas q' de' el querra saber v.n. certificiandole que pue de usar de mi Como de Uerdadero amigo y ial me hallara sempre en todo lo q' querra ma(n)darme S: escribo en espaniol y de mi mano por q' si bien me tengo por tan buen ingles como qual quier ofro aunque mi muger me la mostrado a heblar un poco ingles no la me (n)a aun mostrado a escribir por q' esto ya niego p(ar)a porier me a eseulla la Duquesa le en(c)omienda en v.m. w^{to} all her hart and y so(y).

Del escurial xj de ag^o

a seruicio de v(uestra) m(erced) Dongomes duq de feria."

Now first translated, let us read this—not with languid aloofness but with such alert attention as it must have received from Burghley, who was then working up towards the dismissal of the Spanish Ambassador from England: which, however, was to be effected without a hint that Hawkins had revealed this plot.

"Most Magnificent Señor.

"By this gentleman who came to procure the liberty of the prisoners in the Indies, I received the letter of your grace, in which (affair) he has done all that he has been able, as he will recount: in whom I trust for everything also which your grace may desire to know: assuring you that you may make use of me as of a real friend, and such you will find me always, in everything [in] which you may wish to command me. Though I write in Spanish and in my own hand, I hold myself to be as good an Englishman as any other.

"Although my wife has taught me to speak a little English she has not yet shown me how to write, because I refuse to put myself to school. The Duchess commands that I should commend this to your grace, with all her heart, And I am,

from The Escorial xj of August,

at your grace's service¹

DON GOMEZ DUKE OF FERIA."

His son adds in English, "*I pray you to know me for your good friend as my father is.*"²

The Duchess who graciously commended herself to Hawkins, was Jane Dormer, her mother a Sidney of Penshurst. She had been one of Queen Mary's Maids of Honour; and never to the end of her life ceased endeavouring to bring the strayed sheep of England back into the Papal fold. We will hear of her again. Meanwhile, what of King Philip's "pardon"? The copy of this is nowhere to be found among the State Papers Foreign. But the original ultimately came into the possession of Hawkins's son Sir Richard; and was published in Spanish by Purchas in 1625: describing it as "a Pardon from the Spanish King Philip the second to him" (Hawkins) "and to the Master George Fitzwilliams, and the rest of their companie . . . printed from the Originall, superscribed and subscribed with the King's own hand."³

Of the secret circumstances behind it nothing was said, for the reason that nothing was then known. It was merely issued "to shew the strict prohibition of Trade in the Indies." Now first translated, it runs as follows:

¹ "Your grace" *v(eustra) m(erced)* was an ordinary term of politeness: whereas in English it applied to nobody below the rank of a Duke.

² The Duke died a month afterwards at the Escorial, 7th September, 1571; and was succeeded by his son as 16th Count and 2nd Duke of FERIA. (The editor of "*The Hawkins' Voyages*," Hakluyt Society, 1878, p. viii, supposed the alleged arrangement with Hawkins as "imaginary"; not being aware of the existence of this letter, nor of Hawkins's own statement of 1576, *now first published*, (App: A.) showing that the agreement at Madrid 10 Aug: 1571 between the Duke of FERIA for K. Philip, and George FitzWilliam on the part of Hawkins, did actually take place).

³ Printed at the end of "*A briefe Note written by Master John Ellis, one of the Captaines with Sir Richard Hawkins, in his Voyage through the Strait of Magellan, begunne the ninth of Aprill 1593*" &c., &c. (supplementary to "*The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight . . . once before published, now reviewed and corrected by a written Copie* &c."); in "*Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes. Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others. By Samuel Purchas B.D.*" (1625). Reprint, MacLehose, 1906, Vol. XVII, pp. 203-204.

" THE KING

"Inasmuch as on the part of John Hawkins and George FitzWilliams, Englishmen, on their own account and that of the other English who accompanied them, as will be related below, We have been informed that, despite our order forbidding any foreigner not born in these our Realms to navigate or have any commercial dealings on the route to the Indies and in the ports and towns of the Indies, the above mentioned persons have entered and navigated and traded in this route and in its ports and towns: And because their intention was not to do us or our vassals offence or injury, and because, in view of our knowledge how eager they were to serve us when we were in the Kingdom of England, they have begged and entreated us to be merciful towards them, and to pardon their offence and (remit) the penalties they had incurred, and we have decided to show them this grace:

"By this deed We pardon and remit every penalty which in the route to the Indies and in the ports and towns of the Indies they have incurred up to the present time. We decree that they shall not be accused or annoyed on this account, nor shall proceedings be taken against them by the members of our Council of the Indies nor by the judges of the Commercial House nor by any others. For it is our Will and Pleasure to remit, and we do remit and acquit them wholly of these penalties, as if they had not incurred them; notwithstanding all ordinances to the contrary, which we hereby cancel in this respect, leaving them valid for all others.

"The said Pardon, Grace and Remission it is our pleasure shall extend not only to the said John Hawkins and George FitzWilliams, but to all other Englishmen who accompanied them.

"It applies to the past and must not be taken as permission in the future to navigate or trade on that route without our special and express permission; and if they do so, not only will they incur the penalties contained in our Laws and Ordinances, Letters and Edicts, but this pardon will be of no effect.

"And we order the members of our Council of the Indies and the judges and officials of the Chamber of Commerce and all other judges and authorities to carry out this decree.

"Given in the Monastery of St Lawrence at the Escorial on the tenth day of August 1571.

I THE KING."¹

Having forwarded these two enclosures in their native Spanish, with brief and scornful comment as above quoted, Hawkins resumes,

"I will put my busynes in some order and give myne attendance upon her matie to do her that service that by yo^r Lship shalbe thought most convenyent in this case.

"I am not tedious w^t yo^r Lship"—meaning that he need not go into details,—“because fitz Williams cometh hym selfe, and I mynd not to be longe after hym and thus I trouble yo^r good Lship no farder.

"from Plymouth the 4th day of September 1571."

(This is endorsed by Burghley "4 Sept 1571. Mr Hawkins. FitzW^{ms} retorne from Sp.").

The following month when there came news of the victory of Don John over the Turks, the Spanish Ambassador in London had good hope that it would soon be the turn of the heretics to be stricken. He little suspected that Burghley, aware of his intentions, was keeping him closely under observation.

Not until the 14th of December was Don Guerau Despes requested to appear before the Privy Council: whereon he was informed that in consequence of his conspiring with English subjects for a Spanish invasion of England, the Queen commanded him to quit her dominions.

Though an Englishman in the 19th century printed Don Guerau's excuses,

¹ "By His Majesty's command Antonio Gracian": and an annotation "Your Majesty pardons John Hawkins an English man and his companions the penalties they incurred for navigation and trading in the Indies."

nobody replied by *publishing the original memo of the Privy Council's accusation*, though it was easily available.

"The speeche declared to the Spanish Ambassador" announcing to him "the Queen Ma^{ties} pleasure" is important in the history of English diplomacy. Behind it was the combined force of righteous indignation, long forbearance, and ample private knowledge of the machinations of a power which had been feigning amity while plotting destruction.

Briefly calendared in 1874, the original words seem never to have been noticed until now. It was the composition of Lord Burghley: a very different statesman from the person who appears under his name in "*Drake and the Tudor Navy*" (1898) as more bent on placating Spain than defending England. Burghley is even accused, in that popular work, of seeking to cross the efforts of the men of action; and Drake's saving of England in 1588 is represented as having been in spite of Burghley. But it is not necessary to the glory of Drake to deprive Burghley either of his principles or his wits. In 1571 Drake was unknown to fame; his only encounter with the Spaniards had been in the attack from them at San Juan de Ulloa. His first independent voyage was to be in 1572, following upon the dismissal of the Spanish Ambassador. *Let us therefore see what were Burghley's rebukes to Spain, prior to the revelation of Drake's capacity to "scourge" the Spaniards.*

Despes was called before the Privy Council while the Duke of Norfolk, prisoner in the Tower of London, was awaiting trial, deeply regretting that he had ever lent ear to the suggestion that he should betroth himself to the Queen of Scots.

It would seem as if the speech of the Council to the Ambassador was delivered in English; but a copy would have been presented to him in Spanish or Latin; and it was translated into French, for the information of King Charles IX. This pronouncement not only will enable us to understand a breach with Spain which was to last seven years (a fact not noticed by such living writers as call Drake a "pirate" for his expeditions during that period). It prepares us to see why Burghley set such store by the French marriage. Diplomatic transactions to follow in 1572 at Blois and Paris will be perplexing unless we know and remember what happened in England in December 1571.

"The Queen's Majesty," Don Guerau was informed, "hath of long time forborne to make any such demonstration of her misliking of you, as from time to time by your disordered actions (you) provoked Her Majesty to do: the same being contrary to the office of an Ambassador sent from so great a King as the King of Spain. . ."

It was then pointed out that when the Ambassador first arrived, his master King Philip had expressed himself as a "loving Brother" towards Her Majesty.

"... and so also did her Majesty to the best of her power, by all good offices seek to confirm the same amity mutually betwixt them, as betwixt a dear Brother and a good Sister, and betwixt two Princes lineally descended from the ancient Houses of England and Burgundy by their most famous fathers, Charles the Fifth Emperor, and Henry the Eighth King of England, betwixt whom there had always been an indissoluble amity."

(In the version intended for French reading¹ this last reference, "*Et entre deux Princes*" &c., is crossed out; the Emperor Charles having defeated the French at Pavia in 1525).

The Ambassador was accused of having been the means of bringing about "an universal arrest" of such of Her Majesty's subjects as were in Spain and the Low Countries, and the subjecting of them "to such a cruel imprisonment of many of them as thereby divers perished in the prisons by famine, and other extremity." And all this while there had been professions of devotion on the part of King Philip.

Because of these "and certain other your disordered acts thereupon following, Her Majesty did cause it to be declared unto you that she would not allow of you as an Ambassador to treat further with her in the causes of the King your master.

"Her Majesty did both by her sundry letters and messages signify to the King of Spain and to the Duke of Alva in the Low Countries, and required of them that some other person—better qualified to conserve amity and to continue the ancient league betwixt their Majesties—might be sent hither . . . Whereupon her Majesty hoped that some such good remedy would have followed either by supplying of your place with a person meeter for the amity, or by altering your course, in reforming yourself in your actions.

"But notwithstanding all this, Her Majesty to her great grief, hath perceived neither of them to have succeeded."

"Finding by many manifest proofs the continuance or rather increase" of the Ambassador's evil disposition,—and of his determination to undermine and destroy the alleged amity,—Her Majesty had reason to charge him with having given "*sinister informations to the Duke of Alva*," and also with having prevented the King of Spain from attending to her wishes for the sending of "a meeter person" to her Court: whereof, if such had been sent "Her Majesty would have had great contentation."

But now, "of mere necessity seeing three years space almost fully spent, and nothing herein redressed," Her Majesty "hath resolved to put in execution that which heretofore she did intend. . . . And although she was always loth to execute the same in deed, hoping both to have heard from the King of some meet person to be sent hither in your place: or that at least you would have made some end and have desisted from evil actions, . . . contrarily, *Her Majesty hath perceived that you are still more vehemently given to attempt things dangerous against Her Majesty and the quietness of her estate: using continual secret practices with her subjects, to alienate such as be good from their duties, and to irritate such as be unstable to commit horrible offences against their native country, by moving them to rebellions upon comforts given by you of invasions to be made,—at your appointment,—into this realm and other Her Majesty's dominions.*"²

"And these your latest practices are so surely known to Her Majesty as she can no longer endure them," in such sort as she has endured of late years "your former practices about the late rebellion in the North partes of her realm, two years now past."

("Making and stirring and nourishing of the late Rebellion" was the intended phrase; toned down by Lord Burghley as above).

"And after, within a short time, in publication³ within this realm of certain Bulls sent from Rome against Her Majesty. And next after that,—without intermission in your labours,—counsels and assistance to further and set forward certain practices tending to an Invasion of this realm."

¹ S.P. For: CXXI. No. 1392

² Ireland.

³ altered from "*procuring*," crossed out, and "*divulging*" also crossed out.

This last conspiracy is described as "happily discovered in the end of this last summer": but the words were not such as would have conveyed to the Ambassador any hint that Hawkins had been the discloser thereof.

"Of all of which," concluded Burghley, "and of your continual travails, without ceasing, *to trouble this State by your practices both within the realm and also on the other side of the Seas, Her Majesty and her Council have full proofs*": from many sources, including "the Confessions of such as have been partakers of your doings, and were well acquainted with the same, *and do now deeply repent themselves.* . . ."

(This last reference may probably be to the Duke of Norfolk; but not any English names are mentioned from first to last. Having stated the reasons, there follows the pronouncement:)

"And in this sort Her Majesty hath commanded that these premisses should be declared unto you: and that you should have warning in Her Majesty's name to depart out of Her Majesty's realm within these three or four days; towards the sea side: to which place you shall be safely conducted by persons of estimation: And shall be provided of safe and sure passage at what port you shall require. . . ."

"*And in the meantime you shall have a gentleman of reputation to attend upon you in your house: to the end, after this denunciation given you, none of the subjects of this realm shall offend you or any of yours:*¹ nor that you shall so openly (as of late you have done) continue your practices with any of Her Majesty's evil subjects."

Queen Elizabeth duly remonstrated with King Philip; and in Burghley's hand also is a memorandum for a letter to be written by Her Majesty "to the Duke of Alva. Dec. 1571," which though it has been in print since 1759, is now so rarely remembered that it calls for our attention. While it leaves a door open for apologies from Spain, it puts in the plainest language the reasons why the Ambassador was expelled.

The Queen declares she need not remind the Duke that for a long while she has disliked Don Guerau Despes, "whom the King our good Brother sent hither in place of Signor Gusman de Silva, a Person that served the King his Master very honourably." But though she had requested King Philip in the interests of their "Common Amitye" to "revoke" Despes and send some more suitable person, no heed has been paid to her wish. And instead of Despes being warned to amend his behaviour, he "increased his practices *to disturb our State, to corrupt our Subjects, to stir up Rebellion, and to promise that which we trust he is not able to perform.*"

To such as he "findeth evil-disposed" he gave assurance "that the King our good Brother will aid them and maintain them against us. . . . So as *we can no more endure him to continue, than a Person that would secretly seek to inflame our Realm with fire-brands*: And hereupon we have given him order to depart, without entering into any particular debate, whereto he is naturally given."

¹ These events are misrendered in Hume's "*Two English Queens and Philip*," 1908, p. 319, without any footnote references:

"*Threatened and insulted at every step*," says Hume, "*the ambassador of Spain was at last hustled out of England.*" But the Ambassador was not "hustled"; he was ceremoniously escorted by Hawkins, and was treated with perfect courtesy.

From this reference to the late Ambassador's loquacity, Burghley says for Her Majesty that the order to quit the realm had been delivered to the Ambassador "quietly and in good order, for the respect we have to the King our Brother from whom he came." In this there is nothing to suggest that the Queen took the Ambassador's conduct as representing King Philip. Rather it is implied that this "unmeet and ungrateful" Despes is misusing his master's name:—

"... although we know he will boldly affirm many things to cover his imperfections, yet this we trust is reason: that for the affirmation of our own intention towards the continuance of good amity with the King our Brother we ought to be best believed."

During the next 27 years we shall often find Burghley pointing out that King Philip had given the first provocation; and that the Queen, even when relations became strained, allowed him every opportunity to make amends had he so desired.

Whether Burghley had any hope that the Duke of Alba would counsel King Philip to forego the intended war, or whether the purpose of the protest was to make clear to the Duke that if England were to be attacked, the world should be informed that Her Majesty had shown herself willing for "amitye" with her "good Brother" even after she had been obliged to expel his Ambassador, we do not know. But when after an interval of interrupted diplomatic relations lasting till 1578, a Spanish Ambassador was again received in England, he behaved in exactly the same fashion as Despes; only selecting his instruments more skilfully; and he was fond of arguing that the Queen had given the initial cause for offence.

Her letter to the Duke of Alba, as composed by Burghley, ends by requesting him—as "a Person of Understanding, of Honor and Experience,"—to judge her by her own words and deeds, and not by the allegations of Despes, "who hath a private interest to deprave our actions" in hope thus to excuse his own "passionate attempts."¹

When Captain Hawkins was selected by Lord Burghley to escort the dismissed Ambassador to the port of embarkation, Don Guerau naturally read this to mean that no shadow of suspicion could have fallen upon Hawkins: from whom he parted with many expressions of amity, presenting him with a cypher code "to write always upon any occasion" in the interests of the King of Spain.²

At San Juan de Ulloa, Hawkins had shown vigorous presence of mind when attacked while entertaining Spaniards at dinner, after having allowed many of his crew to go on shore. That he escaped with his life and his ship was a marvel of hard fighting, good seamanship, and dauntless resolution. But it did not necessarily follow that he would be a master of the diplomatic arts, and would have outwitted the Duke of Feria.

¹ Holog: draft (Hatfield) *State Papers*, ed: Murdin, p. 185.

² Hawkins to Lord Burghley, Cotton Galba. CV. f. 263^b "*Don Gwerard de spee*" &c. "*syphere*." Significantly this statement is followed by a list of ships throughout the realm which could be used for Her Majesty's service against the King of Spain; beginning with the *Dreadnought*.

These dealings of the Duke and Don Guerau Despes with "*Achines de Plimua*" (as the Spaniards used to call him), have hitherto been overlaid with excrescences of modern opinion. Now they are brought down to basic facts, we may at first wonder at the credulity of the Spanish Ambassador, likewise of the former Ambassador, the Duke of Feria, and his Duchess (Jane, née Dormer). But if we reflect that Despes had been able in 1569 to persuade the two great Earls, Northumberland and Westmorland, to hazard their all upon Spanish promises of aid,—likewise that Despes had even been able to win the Queen's first cousin once removed, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, K.G., Privy Councillor, and hereditary Earl of Marshal of England,—we shall cease to think it rash of him to assume Captain Hawkins also willing to forward a project which such eminent personages had approved: namely the transference of the crown of Elizabeth to the head of the Queen of Scots, as a vassal of Spain.

Hawkins had far less to lose and much more to gain by treason than the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earls of Westmorland and Northumberland. They already were possessed of broad lands, hereditary power and prestige, and every prospect of continued favour and advancement, under the existing régime. If the Northern Earls, for love of the Catholic Church, and the Duke, for a personal reason, had chosen to hazard lives and fortunes at the prompting of Spain, how much more vulnerable, Don Guerau believed, should Hawkins be, to offers of wealth, titles, and promotion.

That the Duke of Norfolk, who had so much, was persuaded to plot for more, but that Captain Hawkins of Plymouth felt no temptation, and so reported immediately to Lord Burghley all the offers he had received from Spain is due to be put into plain language. Had it been otherwise, had "*Achines de Plimua*" been what Don Guerau Despes supposed him, King Philip's project for the invasion of England could have been carried out in the early part of 1571-2: following closely, as Franchiotti predicted, upon the overthrow of the Turks.

The Spanish intention was to strike while Spanish arms were still glorious from the triumphs of Lepanto. This would have been before the English Army could receive training abroad, or the English Navy reach the state of efficiency which Hawkins, Burghley, Leicester and others had in view.

In November (before the Ambassador had been expelled) King Philip wrote about the "English affair," to the Duke of Medinaceli (the same who had been in correspondence with Hawkins):

"I still have confidence that God. . . will help us . . . *You will therefore hold yourself ready, in case the Duke of Alba writes to you at sea, to take any steps with this end*" (i.e. the invasion). "I have thought well to repeat it in this letter, *which for greater security you will burn before you embark.*" These last words were added in His Majesty's own hand; and he allowed 200,000 crowns towards the expenses.¹

¹ Cal. S.P. Spanish, Vol. II, p. 349.

The longer King Philip could be manoeuvred into postponing his "enterprise of England," the better for England. And Burghley, while appearing unsuspecting, was using the time assiduously in preparation for the inevitable ordeal ahead. We shall soon observe "*ordre given to build new shippes.*"

"*Soldiers prepare aforehand; others too late,*" was remarked in the following century by Burghley's grandson Edward, Viscount Wimbeldon. Wimbeldon, in rebuking civilians, was referring to statesmen far other than his grandfather, who had fought in the battle of Musselburgh in his youth and never forgot that lesson. Knowing by experience the meaning of the word "war," Burghley's labours on behalf of peace were those of one perpetually aware that upon adequate defence of the realm all else would depend.

That the secret discovery of the 1571 conspiracy was the means of its frustration, that the invulnerability of Hawkins to temptation was a vital factor in the history of this country,—also that if he had been callous about his men in the dungeons of the Inquisition and had made no efforts for their liberation, he would never have found out the further plot against England,—we will by now have comprehended.

The Professor who dismissed Hawkins's discovery as a "dirty" trick, had lost sight of the main issues; and forgot what would have been ever-present to the mind of Hawkins: the Pope's Declaration of 1569-70, that "Elizabeth being a heretic and a favourer of heretics" was "to be *deprived of her pretended title to the Kingdom*"; and that "The Nobility, Subjects and People of the said Kingdom, and all others that have in any sort sworn unto her" were "for ever absolved from any such oath. . . And that *We do command and interdict all and every . . . that they presume not to obey her, or her monitions, mandates, and laws.*"¹

When these were the odds against Queen Elizabeth, Captain John Hawkins certainly was not troubled by such doubts of his own righteousness as to-day confuse writers who have misread the facts which brought about and determined his actions.

As to the heated modern discussions whether what Hawkins did was or was not "treason," it is now manifest that by no stretch of argument can his correspondence with Spain be brought under the Statute of Treason: seeing that all his secret negotiations were known in detail to the Queen, and were carried out "*by Her Majesty's consent.*"

This evidence, moreover, is not in an *apologia* to the public, who neither knew nor suspected anything as to the transactions in question. It is in a private memo for Lord Burghley, under whose superintendence the business had been conducted. Now that it is made available in facsimile, our future historians will be able to state in a sentence the actual occurrences; which for lack of this essential manuscript have been so long and signally misapprehended.

¹ Facsimile of Declaration, II. 1. 3. ante.

HOLOGRAPH MEMO OF JOHN HAWKINS
AS TO HIS DEALINGS WITH SPAIN.

Now first published from Cotton MS. Galba. C. v. ff. 263-264 (formerly 261).

This MS. covers 3 pp. (263 recto and verso; and 264, with initials and date "J.H. 1576" at foot).

Hawkins' statement is given in full, p. 117; but for facsimile this first page suffices, as it contains the particulars of how he negotiated with Spain "*by her Maties consent*": words overlooked by various critics who have accused him of treason against Queen Elizabeth.

APPENDIX A.

"BY HER MAJESTY'S CONSENT: "

"A NOTE FROM JOHN HAWKYNES, 1576,
TOUCHING HIS INTELLIGENCE WITH SPAIN" (in '71).

*Now first published from the original.*¹

This MS, overlooked by general historians, is omitted also from J. A. Williamson's "*Sir John Hawkins The Time and the Man*," Oxford, 1927. Though the author was aware of its existence, he alluded to it as if it were not worth printing; whereas it is absolutely essential.

That the letters and articles of the Duke of Feria were shown to Queen Elizabeth, and that FitzWilliams was sent back to Spain with answers she approved, is the conclusive reply to criticisms against Hawkins, which in 1928 overflowed even into the daily press; the disputants arguing heatedly with each other, instead of calling up the evidence of the person mainly concerned.

"When George Fitz Williams was sent by me into Spain to obtain liberty for such men as I had in captivity, the Duke of Feria and Secretary Sayas practysed with him that I might be won to join with the rebels of the north which were both fled and yet remaining in England.²

"In credit whereof they wrote in a blank paper divers articles to that effect, which was not to be read before it came to the fire: the preamble whereof was as followeth word for word:

"Being so that the principall end which is pretended in these things that be treated of, is the service of God and the restitution of the Catholic faith in the realm of England, and to deliver it to Queen Mary of Scotland, to whom of right it doth appertain, John Hawkyns must see what way he thinketh best that he may and ought to take to attain this and put it in execution."

"With this was sent from the King a ring to the Queen of Scots, and another from the Duke of Feria to the said Queen, wherein was written these posies, *Numeros complera omnes, et preslutibus fruor meliora spero*. The third ring was sent unto me by the Duke of Feria.

"Her Majesty being advertised of this was content that Fitz Williams should deliver both letters and rings to the Queen Mary, who returned letters and a book of gold to the King from Queen Mary, wherein was written *absit mihi gloriari*, &c.

"By her Majesty's consent I sent Fitz Williams to the King, with particular answers to the Duke's articles: whereupon the Duchess of Feria sent me her letters,³ the Duke his letter, and his son confirmed with his hand the same friendship promised by his father.⁴

"The King sent again to Queen Mary a fair ruby in a ring, which the Queen's Majesty hath.

"With all the King sent me a pardon for traffick into the West Indies contrary to his laws,⁵ and set all my men at liberty, and gave them money liberally."⁶

Hawkins's comment upon this is, "*The premisses considered, methought it doth sufficiently prove that the King wisheth as much hurt as he can to her Majesty, if he know which way to put her destruction in practice.*"

In this MS we have at last the main issue, and the reason why Hawkins allowed himself to be regarded in Spain as a traitor to his country: viz., in order that he might save his men, and discover and frustrate the Spanish project for the conquest and annexation of England.

¹ Spelling modernised from holog: Cotton MS. Galba C.V. ff. 263-264. Signed "J. H." Endorsed "A Note" etc. (as supra) and "A 3."

² Meaning "the (leaders of) which were both fled; and yet (many other) remaining in England."

³ which has not been found.

⁴ First published in extenso ante, p. 109.

⁵ First translated ante, p. 110.

⁶ There follows other matter cit under date 1576, (Ships ready for war, &c.).

The manner in which he and Burghley between them, "by her Majesty's consent," unravelled the plot, was not suspected by the author of "*The House of Cecil*," who in 1914 held up Burghley to admiration for his supposed "thwarting" of the "rash schemes" of the men of action. The men of action were not "rash," but far-seeing and astute; and their schemes were frequently, as in Hawkins's case, equally the schemes of Burghley.

That Walsingham was the patron of the men of action and Burghley their foe, and that Burghley after Walsingham's death in 1590 had nobody to "goad" or "trick" him into vigorous measures was the statement in 1898 of Sir Julian Corbett our chief authority upon Drake.¹ But long before Walsingham was Principal Secretary, Sir William Cecil—Lord Burghley from 1571—was aware of the menace from Spain. The measures he took, *leading up to the dismissal of the Spanish Ambassador, prior to Drake's first independent Voyage*, could not have been more entirely in accord with the ideas of Hawkins.

While it would not be possible to overrate the services Drake was ultimately to render to Queen and country, Corbett was entirely mistaken that those services were performed in defiance of Burghley's policy.

The chief advocate of the Burghley-Polonius theory in 1874 alleged that Burghley's "remains" prove him to have crossed the fighting men, and so ill performed his duty that the England of his day was only saved from ruin by "ill-merited luck."²

It is not mentioned what "remains" show any such thing; but this assertion, *though without a single MS reference to support it*, has been accepted ever since 1874; and seems to be the begetter of Corbett's Burghley.

That it was careful management, and not "luck", upon which Burghley depended, would have been manifest if his detractors had examined his "remains."

The publication of the foregoing MS of Hawkins, in conjunction with Burghley's draft for the consequent speech of dismissal to the Spanish Ambassador, should clear away for ever the false notions which have gathered round the events of 1569-71.³

¹ Answered under date.

² Simpson, "*The Politics of Shakespeare's Historical Plays*," (1874).

³ It seems to be forgotten by recent writers that in 1878 in editing "*The Hawkins' Voyages during the reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I*," Clements R. Markham, C.B., F.R.S., (subsequently Sir Clements) protested against Lingard's rendering of Hawkins's transactions with Spain in 1571; and also pointed out the careless wording of Lingard's references in his "*History of England*," (Vol. V), the same evidence being sometimes given as "*Memorias*," sometimes "*Gonzalez*" and elsewhere "*From the documents at Simancas*" (no reference numbers). Markham (p. ix) explained that on the return of King Ferdinand VII in 1815 (after the Buonaparte usurpation had been ended by the Duke of Wellington) "the archives were entrusted to Don Tomas Gonzales, who restored them to order at Simancas;" and that in, Vol. 7 of the "*Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*," Madrid, 1832, was published a contribution by Gonzales; translated into English in 1865 as "*Documents from Simancas relating to the Reign of Elizabeth (1558-1568)*" ed: G. Spencer Hall, F.S.A.

Markham quoted these, (p.x) and answered that "*Cecil's correspondence proves that Hawkins was fooling the Spaniards*." But as Markham did not quote the English correspondence, his objections against Lingard's "calumny" were treated less seriously than he deserved.

Subsequently in 1888, Miss Hawkins (the representative of Sir John Hawkins) referred to the case in her "*Plymouth Armada Heroes: The Hawkins Family*," pp. 37-38, saying that though the agreement between the Duke of Feria for Fitz William on behalf of Hawkins (10 Aug: 1571) was perfectly genuine, Lingard's inferences from it are erroneous: and that the "Spanish intrigue" of Hawkins was "*undertaken with the object of rescuing his unfortunate men by guile, as he could not do so by force*." She added in general terms that his actions were carried on with the "knowledge and approval" of "the English Government."

"English Government" is a modern and misleading phrase. It should be "with knowledge and approval of the Queen." That Hawkins was acting under orders, as stated briefly by Miss Hawkins to be proved by "*Cecil's correspondence*," can now be established beyond dispute from Hawkins's own words.

Relevant MSS., even when epitomised in print, have escaped notice; for instance a draft in a secretarial script, revised by two different hands, which appear to be Burghley’s and Walsingham’s. This long undated summary of the “*Indignities*” offered by the “*K of Spayne against her Matie*,” sets forth “*The privitie of his Ministers and Ambassadors to all practices of annoyinge her Matie both in England and elsewhere, namelie*

“The rebellion in the North, whereof the D Dalua¹ and Don Guerrand D’Espes were discovered to be principall instruments.

“*The practice of the D of Feria with John Hawkins as also of secretary Sayes to winne the sayd Hawkins to joyn wth her Maties rebels in the north w^{ch} were fledd pretending the restitution of the Catholike fayth in the realm of England. to deliver it to the Q of Scottes to whom of right it appertayned.*”²

In 1587 we shall find Lord Burghley referring to “a book” which had been prepared, setting forth the “*unkind and unfriendly actions*” of the King of Spain; so that if the Spanish “Peace” delegates at Ostend were to complain against Queen Elizabeth, the English Commissioners should be able to prove that King Philip had been the first aggressor.³

Two Spanish Ministers are charged with practising “*to winne the sayd Hawkins*,” at the time of the Northern Rising. The first overtures came from them. The now-current version of the story—that it was Hawkins who began the attempt to deceive the Duke of Feria,—receives no support here. Rather it appears that it was only after the Duke and his colleague endeavoured to gain Hawkins for King Philip, that Hawkins set himself to outwit the Duke.

The summary of Spanish “Injuries” to England is a repetition of the points we have already seen in Hawkins’ letter to Lord Burghley, September 1571:

“Herewth were sent from the K of spayne and the D of Feria 2 Rings to the Scottish Q wth these Poesies therein. Numeros Completo omnes. Presentibus fruor meliora spero: she returned diverse tokens, amongst them a book of gold wherein was written Absit mihi gloriari.”⁴

It would be a hard heart to-day which would not pity the Queen of Scots for the manner in which her hopes were raised by Spain, and she drawn thereby into conspiracies which were in the end to prove fatal to her. But the popular English Catholic man of letters who in 1928 challenged Protestants to produce any “document” which could conceivably clear John Hawkins from the brand of “treason” to Queen Elizabeth, was himself labouring under mistaken ideas, which the document now reproduced in facsimile should completely clear away.

¹ Duke of Alba.

² This has been rendered in Cal: S.P.F. XXI. p.177, “Practice of the Duke of Feria and Secretary Sayers to win John Hawkins to join with the rebels in the North: to restore the Catholic Faith and deliver it to the Queen of Scots” the omission of the words “*in the realm of England*” making the end of the sentence unintelligible. (The Secretary was Zayas.)

³ This book is not preserved with Burghley’s Instructions for the Commissioners, 1587; but the list of “Injuries” in the Record Office among State Papers for the same year 1587, is apparently a draft for the “book” to which Burghley refers.

⁴ S.P. Spain, II. 73.

APPENDIX B.

ENGLISH PRISONERS OF THE INQUISITION IN MEXICO:

*as ascertained by G. R. G. Conway, 1927:**from Mexican National Archives of 1559-1575.*

In the MSS of the Inquisition in Mexico the trials of Englishmen, and others captured in 1568, have been examined by Mr. G. R. G. Conway, and transcribed in fifty volumes; which he has presented to the Congress Library at Washington. He holds out hopes of a similar gift to the British Museum. Meanwhile he has published a "*List of original documents relating to the Englishmen who were condemned by the Mexican Inquisition, 1559-1575*"; Appendix III to "*An Englishman and the Mexican Inquisition, 1556-1560. Being an account of the Voyage of Robert Tomson to New Spain, his trial for heresy in the City of Mexico and other Contemporary historical documents. Edited by G. R. G. Conway. Privately Printed in the City of Mexico. 1927,*" 250 copies only.

The following notes, abbreviated from Mr. Conway's summaries (op. cit. pp. 153-162) will serve as a reminder of the bravery needed by our countrymen, when England, though called "Imperiall," was without colonies, and did *not* command the seas.

In the late 19th century, a dislike of facing unpleasant facts infected some of our historians; and even influenced certain editors of the Navy Records, one of whom asserted the power of the Inquisition to have been less than the Elizabethan English seamen stated. He would have thought otherwise if he had enquired into its dealings, whether in Old or New Spain.

As the story of the Inquisition is based on its own minutely kept interrogations,—and as dread of its establishment in England, if England were to be conquered by Spain, was one of the main emotions influencing our seamen of all ranks during a most eventful period of our history,—a recent contention that naval matters need not be encumbered with references to ecclesiastical controversies, is a mistaken exclusiveness, if our aim be to understand the feelings which impelled the English resistance to Spain.¹

TRIALS OF ENGLISHMEN IN MEXICO

prior to the establishment of the Regular Inquisition there in 1571.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Robert Tomson (from Andover) aged 25. For heretical remarks. | 1559-1560. Inquis: MSS. Vol. 32. No. 8. 32 folios. |
| 2. Guillermo de Orlando (London) (William Roland?) Aged 19. One of the hostages made prisoner at San Juan de Ulloa, Sep. 1568. Sent to Spain, April, 1569. Died in the dungeons of Seville, 21 Feb: 1570. | 1569. Vol. 9. No. 6. 13 folios. |

¹ There has been gross exaggeration as to the literary censorship of the Inquisition. It did *not* "shut out the light of the Renaissance" in Spain, as often alleged. But the valour of our English seamen who faced its tribunals it would be hardly possible to over-estimate.

3. *Robert Barret* (of Saltash) Aged 25 in 1568. 1570.
Master of the "*Jesus of Lubeck*" (Hawkins' flagship). Vol. 49. No. 2.
Sent with a message to the Viceroy. Taken prisoner. Sent 11 folios.
to Spain in 1571.
Burnt at Seville. 1573. (See MacLehose's Hakluyt, Vol. IX.
pp. 445-465).
 4. *Henry Hawks* (*Tavistock*). Age 35. 1571.
Arrested for heresy in the mines of Zacatecas, New Galicia. Vol. 49. No. 7.
Escaped from prison. 70 folios.
Author of "*A Relation of the Commodities of Nova
Hispana*" etc. 1572. (Hakluyt, 1st ed: 1589. pp. 545-553.)
- "ENGLISHMEN AND OTHERS FROM THE FLEET OF CAPTAIN JOHN HAWKINS,
WHO WERE TAKEN PRISONERS AT SAN JUAN DE ULLOA,
OR PUT ASHORE IN THE GULF OF MEXICO, NORTH OF TAMPICO, . . . 1568."
5. *David Alexander* (of 'Sodlu': i.e. South Looe in Cornwall). 1572-85.
A page in the *Minion*. Vol. 52. No. 3.
Sentenced to 3 years in the Monastery of San Francisco. 158 folios.
In 1585 was willing to fight for Philip II, but not allowed
by the Inquisitors to bear arms.
 6. *William Collins* (Oxford) 'Guillermo Calens.' 1572-74.
Seaman in '*Jesus of Lubeck*'; transferred to *Minion*. Landed Vol. 52. No. 4.
in Gulf of Mexico. 192 folios.
Sentenced to 10 years in the Galleys of Spain.
 7. *John Storey* (from London) 'Juan Estore'. Age about 16. 1572-78.
Kept prisoner in monastery of San Domingo from 1572 Vol. 53. No. 1.
to 1578. 90 folios.
 8. *John Farenton* (from Windsor) aged 49. 1572-74.
One of ten gunners in the *Jesus*. Vol. 53. No. 2.
Sentenced to six years in the galleys. 127 folios.
 9. *John Breton or Burton* (Bar Abbey). Age 22. 1572-74.
Seaman in the *Minion*. Vol. 53. No. 5.
Tortured during his trial. Condemned to receive 200 stripes 117 folios.
and serve 6 years in the galleys.
 10. *Pable de Leon* (Hollander). Age about 22. 1572-7.
Same sentence as above. Vol. 53. No. 7.
86 folios.
 11. *Robert Cook* (from London) Age about 20. 1572-74.
Cook's boy in '*Jesus of Lubeck*'. Vol. 54. No. 1.
Case disputed by Inquisitors. 28 folios.
Not formally settled till Dec: 1577. Kept as a servant.
 12. *Miles Philips* (from London). Aged 18 in 1572. Vol. 54. No. 2.
Page to Captain Hawkins aboard the '*Jesus of Lubeck*.' His 70 folios.
narrative published in Hakluyt's "*Principal Navigations*", (in poor condition,
1589. pp. 562-578. "crumbling to pieces".)
 13. *William Griffin* (of Bristol). Age between 24 and 27. 1572-74.
Mariner in *Jesus of Lubeck*. Vol. 54. No. 4.
Tortured during his trial; sentenced to 200 stripes and 98 folios.
8 years in the galleys.

14. *George Ribley* (from Gravesend). Age about 30.
Mariner in the *Jesus of Lubeck*.
Sentenced to be burnt to death. 1574
Ib.
Vol. 54. No. 5.
120 folios.
15. *Andrew Martin* (from Brittany). Age about 17.
Cabin boy in the *Judith*.
Threatened with torture; but absolved and sent to Spain.
Ib.
Vol. 54. No. 6.
71 folios.
16. *Paul Hawkins* (from London)
'Pablo Haquines de la Cruz.'
Age 15 or 16 in 1572.
Stated he was son of Robert Hawkins: Paymaster to the
Queen's fleet and nephew of "John Hawkins, Captain-
General of the Fleet of England."
Imprisoned till Dec: 1577.
Condemned to wear the sanbenito for one year. Became
a Catholic. Married and settled in Mexico. Had
descendants living in 1698.
1572-76.
Vol. 55. No. 1.
97 folios.
1574-1698.
Ib. No. 2.
130 folios.
1573.
Vol. 212. No. 17.
117 folios.
17. *John Perrin* (from Emden). Age 19.
Son of a cook in Q. Elizabeth's palace.
Sentenced to serve 5 years in the Monastery of San Augustin;
and, later, 4 years in the galleys.
1572-76.
Vol. 55. No. 2.
76 and 18 folios.
18. *Thomas Hull or Ebrer* (from Bristol).
Aged 17 or 18 in 1572.
Died in captivity.
1572-74.
Vol. 55. No. 3.
80 folios.
19. *John Moon or Mun* (from Looe). Age 26.
Condemned to 200 stripes; and 6 years in the galleys.
Ib: No. 4.
86 folios.
20. *Roldan Escalart* (from Normandy). Age 25.
A Catholic captured by Hawkins. Released by Inquisition.
1572-74.
Ib: No. 4.
44 folios.
21. *John Lee* (from 'Sebria') Aged 20.
Sentenced to 200 stripes, and 8 years in the galleys.
Ib: Vol. 56. No. 3.
99 folios.
22. *Richard Williams* (from Bristol) 'Ricardo Guillermo'.
Became a "good Christian" (Catholic) and was released.
Ib: No. 54.
158 folios.
23. *William Brown* (from London) Aged 25.
Tortured during his trial.
Condemned to 200 stripes, and 6 years in the galleys.
Vol. 57. No. 1.
90 folios.
24. *John Evans* (from Griego?) Cabin boy in *Minion*.
Released in 1577.
1572-74.
Ib: No. 2.
63 folios.
25. *Thomas Goodal* (from London) Aged 30.
Soldier brother-in-law of Robert Barret.
Tortured. Condemned to 300 stripes, and 10 years in the
galleys.
Ib: No. 3.
100 folios.
26. *John Guilbert* (London) Aged 29.
Same sentence as Goodal.
Ib: No. 4.
79 folios.
27. *Roger Armer* (from Gueldres). Aged 24.
("Roger the Chiefe Armourer". See Miles Philips in
MacLehose's *Hakluyt*. Vol. IX. p. 428).
Sentenced to 200 stripes, and 6 years in galleys.
1572-74.
Vol. 149. No. 1.
117 folios.

28. *John Martin*, or Guillermo Cornelius, from Cork. 1574-1575.
Tortured, and burnt at the stake. March, 1575. Vol. 58. No. 6.
202 folios.
29. *Morgan Tillert*, from St. Bridgets near Cardiff. Aged 40. Vol. 75: and MS.
Tortured. Condemned to 200 stripes, and 8 years in a private
galleys. library in Mexico.

AUTO DE FE OF 28 FEB: 1574.¹

30. *John Brown* (Irishman) aged 28.
Sentenced to 200 stripes, and 8 years in the galleys.
31. *John Williams* (from Cornwall). Age 28.
200 stripes and 8 years in galleys.
32. *Robert Plimton* (Plymouth). Age 30.
200 stripes and 8 years in galleys.
33. *John Grey*. Age 22.
Artilleryman in *Minion*. 200 stripes and 8 years in galleys.
34. *George Dee or Day*: 'Jorge Diaz.' Age 30.
Sentenced to 300 stripes and 10 years in galleys.

That of 34 prisoners, only four Englishmen compromised, the others choosing slavery in the galleys, for 6, 8, or 10 years,—and in some cases death,—rather than forsake the Church of England, was not known to the 20th century Professor (now dead) who accused Elizabethan mariners of exaggerating their own sufferings. Actually every time a merchant-sailor crossed the "Ocean-Sea" he risked capture and torture, and faced the possibility of death in a Spanish or a Turkish dungeon. Far from our seamen—Merchant or Royal Navy—over-emphasising the dangers, we shall (on examination, later,) be impressed by the reticence as well as the fortitude, the innate dignity as well as the bold initiative, of many men of the lower ranks, who, encouraged by stories of St. George, took for granted that they each and all were custodians of the honour of "our English nation," and faced the Inquisitors with a supreme courage.²

¹ Summary of trials of Brown, Williams, Plimton, Grey and Dee are given in *Registro de las Puniciones que se dieron a 29 ingleses de los que Vinieron en el armada de Joan Haquines a esta Nueva España el año de 68*. Vide Conway, op. cit. p. 162.

² Spanish Jesuit missionaries to America, tortured by Red Indians, were also resolute to show by their steadfast endurance their zeal as Catholics and Spaniards. A recent historian who refers to that era as feline, "false and feminine," forgets that the words manhood and bravery were then synonymous; and that (with rare exceptions) faith inspired an almost superhuman strength.

APPENDIX C.

"DESCENDED OF THE CHIEFE OF THE NOBILITIE."

ILLUSTRIOUS SPANISH VICTIMS OF THE INQUISITION (1559-63).

That many of the English prisoners of the Inquisition were seamen from before the mast, and that the Inquisition had originally been founded by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella to keep watch over the unwillingly converted Moors and Jews, has tended of late to give an impression that all Inquisition victims belonged to the lesser ranks, and that personages of worldly power and importance were immune. But the Elizabethans knew better; for among translations first printed by John Day in 1568, and reprinted soon after Hawkins' return home, was a black letter small quarto on "*the Holy Inquisition of Spayne*"; from which it could be seen that among Spaniards burnt at the stake for heresy, or imprisoned for life, women as well as men, were some "descended of the chiefe of the nobilitie."

If on the one hand the Spanish discipline in war was as admired in the rest of Europe as the Spanish learning,—and it was well understood that the Inquisition was not the foe of art or literature as such,—the punishments for heresy struck the more horror into the minds of the masses of our people when they learnt that even a brother of the Duke of Medina Sidonia had been among those condemned.

In 1567 at Heidelberg there had been printed "*Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispanicae artes aliquot detectae ac palam traductae. Reginaldo Gonsalvo Montano authore.*" The following year this was translated into English by Vincent Skinner, a protegee of Sir William Cecil: "*A Discovery and playne Declaration of sundry subtil practises of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne. Certaine speciall examples set aparte by themselves, besides other that are here and there dispersed in their most conuenient places, wherein a man may see the foresaid practises of the Inquisition, as they be practised and exercised, very liuely described.*"

"There is no good nature (gentle Reader)," wrote the translator, "that beholding on a stage an old Tragedie, wherein be represented the miseries of any one man or the ruine and desolation of a whole country, will not accompany the outward motions of the players with some inward affection, yea sometimes with tears of vehement compassion. Which if we doe in a play whereof the matter is many times but invented," or "happened in countreys far of(f) and long ago," shall we not be more moved by sufferings which not only have happened and are happening at the moment, but "also may fall upon us?"

¹ In the 20th century many students of history set out with the thesis that in the past the oppression of "the people" by "the aristocracy" is to be assumed as universal. But in the 16th century all men were aware that "the wind blows vehemently upon lofty places"; and that rank brought peril, when obscurity might mean safety. See II. i. 7. App. B.

² "Set forth in Latine, by Reginaldus Gonsaluius Montanus, and lately translated. Psalm 74. . . . Imprinted at London by Iohn Day, dwelling over Aldersgate, beneath S. Martines. And are to be solde at his shop under the Gate."

If we imagine "our selves sure and the storme passed," and that we "have no partes in this Tragedie," we are not only "uncharitable in so lightly esteeming the griefs of others," but we "foolishly and dangerously" deceive ourselves, who may, unless we are vigilant, be plunged into "troubles and warres" as grievous as those suffered by our neighbours."¹

The "*Register of such persons as were burned at Siuil [Seville] in the yeare of our Lord 1559,*" is headed:

"Don Iuan Ponce de Leon, sonne to Don Rodrigo de Leon Earle of Baylen.

Iuan Goncales a preacher borne at Palma.

Catalina de Herara

Maria Goncales

} Sisters to the same preacher."

Of Ponce de Leon, Montanus stated that not only was he "of a noble house," but noted for his "learning and knowledge,"—"as I myselfe am able to make report, for the great familiarity . . . that I had with him a long season." All who "ever knew him" could testify to his virtues, including "*his exceeding love and compassion towards his poore and nedy brethren:* in so much that being left very wealthy by his father" he was so generous,—so many people being helped by him,—that he came himself to destitution. The offence for which he suffered death was being a "Lutherane heretike." On the same occasion four women were burnt, one "scarce twenty yeeres of age"; and all "of sober behaviour."

In 1560 the victims included eight women burnt, and "*Nicholas Burton an Englishman.*" Also there was a lady of rank, Doña Juana de Bohorques, who died under torture, and was afterwards "pronounced innocent." "Divers and sundry others, both men and women as well of nobilitie as of worship, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment and their goods confiscated."

The men then burnt included priests, monks, an advocate, a goldsmith, a proof corrector, a hosier, a schoolmaster, and "Melchin de Salto, a citizen of Granata" (Granada); but the sentences were as frequently upon personages of high rank. Let us look at a typical extract (E. ij) from this black letter quarto so common in Elizabethan England and so seldom read to-day:

"... *such as were . . . condemned to perpetual imprisonment with confiscation of their goods.*" [25 May, 1559.]

"Don Luys de Rosas Marques of Poza. . . .

Dona Maria de Rosas a Nonne of S. Katherins cloister sister to the same Marquesse. . . . This Donna Maria was intirely beloved of king Phillips sister the Queene of Portugall by whose meanes and procurement she was released . . . and restored immediately into her cloyster . . . whereat the Inquisitors greatly repyned.

Dona Iuana Enriquez daughter to the Marques de Alcanizes. . . .

Iuan de Biuro. Donna Iuana de Silva wife to the same Iuan de Biuro.

Iuan de Vlloa, a knight of the order of S. John.

Don Pedro de Sarmiento.

Donna Mencia de Figueroa, sometimes one of the maydes of honoure to the Queene of Boheme, afterwarde married to the said Don Pedro de Sarmiento. . . ."

¹ "The Translator to the Reader." To 2nd edition, 1569(70) a dedication is added "To the most revered father in God Mathew Archbyshop of Caunterbury, Primate of all England. . . ." dated "At Lincolnes Inne the 7. of February. Your graces to commaund V. Skinner."

"*The Register of those that were burned in Vallolet [Valladolid] the 8. of october anno 1559.*" begins with "*Don Carlos de Sessa an Earle,*" whose wife at the same time was condemned to perpetual prison, and "*Fray Domingo de Rosas a Dominican Fryer sonne to the aforesayd Marques of Poza*"; and includes "Donna Eufrasina a Nonne of the Cloyster of S. Clare," "Donna Catalina Reynoza a Nonne of Belen . . . daughter to Ieronimo de Reynozo baron of Anzillo"; "Donna Marina de Guevara a Nonne of the same house and one descended of the chiefe of the nobilitie"; "Donna Margarita de Santistiban, a Nonne," and "Katalina de Miranda." A list of nuns and of ladies condemned to lifelong imprisonment follows, including "Donna Filippa de Heredia, a Nonne of the house of Belen de Medina de Ruiseco" (Rioseco).

The "*Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition*," written by Llorente while it still existed in a modified form, and many other compilations drawn from its own records, including the latest history by Lea, "*The Inquisition in Spain*," 4 vols., are outside the scope of the present note.¹ The purpose is to indicate what the Elizabethans were reading ten years after Queen Elizabeth's accession, and twenty years before her Royal and Merchant Navies beat back the "Invincible Armada," which had sailed in confident and haughty expectation of being able to control a conquered England under the iron hand of the Inquisition.

¹ In Ibarra's "*España bajo los Austrias*" (meaning *bajo la Casa de Austria*)—Barcelona and Buenos Aires, 1927,—in the Bibliografía (p. 359), the two works selected to explain "*El Protestantismo y su difusión en España*," are that of Adolfo de Castro, "*Historia de los protestantes españoles*," Cádiz, 1851; and E. Schaefer's "*Beiträge zur Geschichte des Spanischen Protestantismus und der Inquisition*," Gütersloh, 1902, 3 vols.

PART II.

"Particularly the Power of Spain."

CHAPTER I.

"TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD."

SECTION 7.

"Repentant . . . but now too late."

(*The fall of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, 1571-72*).

" . . . happie happie Duke, the second chyld of Fame, . . .
What age hath seen his like, . . .
To whom I pray the Lorde to send like years as Noye,
In happie health and quiet state, to his and all our joye."

"*A dittie in the worthy praise of an high and mightie Prince*"
(Thomas Duke of Norfolk).

"*Imprinted at London, without Aldersgate, in Little Britaine, by Alexander Lacy.*"
(circa 1568).

"Pity my hard fortune . . . and I my self will sufficiently lament and repent
during my short life . . . woefull and repentant . . . but now too late . . ."

"*Thomas Howard, late Duke of Norfolk,*
my last Confessyon. . . . February 26, 1571."

" . . . no Family hath met with greater contrariety of Fortune . . . only I
shall mention the last capital one, in the Person of . . . Thomas Duke of Norfolk,
who being the Darling of the People, the first Peer of England, and Cozen German
removed to Queen Elizabeth, lost his head for pretending [i.e. intending] a Marriage
with Mary Queen of Scots."

"*A short View of the Life of the most Noble and Excellent*
Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel and Surrey . . ." (the Duke's grandson), in
"Historical Discourses. . . ."
By Sir Edward Walker Knight, Principal King of Arms, Secretary of War to His
Majesty King Charles I. . . ."
(Written 1651. Printed, London 1705. p. 210.)

" . . . searching with myselfe . . . to what freinds I my selfe have been most
beholding, . . . weigheing againe whose wisdome, gravity, carefullnes, and
great experience in ordering of youth . . . might best keep under in you all
vice and plant . . . all vertue and godlynes, I have been soe bold as . . . to make
choyce of my good Ld Burghley to be your adopted father . . . Therefore I charge
and require you . . . yt you be as humble and obedyent unto my good Ld now yor
adopted father as you would have been to my selfe . . ."

Thomas, late Duke of Norfolk to his children, 28th January, 1571-2: (p. 138.)

"FAREWELL FOR EVERMORE, SWEET ENGLAND:"

From Deloney's ballad in "*The Garland of Good-Will: Divided into Three Parts. Containing many Pleasant Songs and Poems.* London: Printed for G. Conyers at the Sign of the Golden Rose in Little Britaine." (N.D.) First ed: Circa 1597. Part I. No. 7.

(King. "Norfolk, for thee remains a heavier doom,
Which I with some unwillingness pronounce . . .
The hopeless word of 'Never to return'
Breathe I against thee, upon pain of life."

Duke. "A heavy sentence, my most Sovereign Liege.
Thus then I turn me from my Country's light,
To dwell in solemn shades of endless night."

Shakespeare: "*The Tragedie of King Richard the Second,*" 1597. Act. I, Sc: 3.)

How sympathetic the Elizabethan populace were to the woes of the great, even when long past, is well illustrated in Deloney's "*Song of the Banishment of the Two Dukes.* . . ."

The recriminations and challenges of Norfolk and Bolingbroke (Hereford), the King's interruption of their combat, the sentence upon both adversaries, which we know mostly through Shakespeare's version in the drama of King Richard II, are described as graphically by Deloney as if the events had been contemporary with himself instead of 158 years before Queen Elizabeth came to the throne. And from the lament put by the balladist into the mouth of the Mowbray Duke it is easy to see how well the silk-weaver Thomas Deloney loved England.

"The Duke of Norfolk coming then where he would shipping take,
The bitter tears fell down his cheeks, and thus his Moan did make,
Now take thy Leave and last adieu of this thy Country dear,
Which never more thou must behold, nor yet approach it near.
Now happy should I count my self if Death my Heart had torn,
That I might have my Bones entomb'd where I was bred and born:
Or that by Neptune's wrathful Rage, I might be prest to dye:
Whilst that sweet Englands pleasant Banks did stand before mine Eye.
How sweet a Scent hath English Ground within my Senses now:
How fair unto my outward sight seem every Branch and Bough.
The Fields and Flowers, the Streets and Stones seems such unto my mind
That in all other Countries sure the like I shall never find.
The fatal Hour draweth on, the Winds and Tydes agree;
And now sweet England oversoon I must depart from thee.
The Mariners have hoised Sail, and call to catch me in:
And now in woeful Heart I feel my torments to begin:
Wherefore farewell for evermore, sweet England unto thee;
But farewell all my Friends which I again shall never see:
And England here I kiss thy Ground upon my bended knee,
Whereby to show to all the World, how dearly I love thee.
This being said, away he went, as Fortune did him guide,
And at the length with grief of Heart in Venice there he dy'd."

He would have been less sorrowful could he have known that descendants of his house in the female line would be Dukes at Arundel even after 400 years. (See Table of the Mowbray and Howard Dukes, p. 150.)

*JEWEL PRESENTED BY QUEEN MARY OF SCOTS
TO THOMAS, DUKE OF NORFOLK, ON HER BETROTHAL TO HIM.*

*From the original, now at Welbeck Abbey:
in possession of The Duke of Portland, K.G.*

This pendant was not confiscated by Queen Elizabeth when the Duke was executed. It passed to the Duke's eldest son Philip Earl of Surrey, afterwards Earl of Arundel; and from him to his only son Thomas Lord Maltravers, who was restored by King James as Earl of Arundel.

From Thomas Earl of Arundel it descended to his grandson Lord Stafford; who sold it at the Tart Hall Sale in 1720 to Edward Lord Harley. Four years later Lord Harley became second Earl of Oxford. The daughter and heiress of that second Harley Earl married the second Duke of Portland; and thus the Queen of Scots' jewel came to Welbeck.



LORD HENRY HOWARD:

*second son of Henry Earl of Surrey,
and brother of Thomas 4th Duke of Norfolk.*

*Now first reproduced from the original on panel,
at Norfolk House, in possession of the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England.*

This picture is catalogued as "*Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton.*" But the Earldom was not conferred upon him till the reign of King James I; whereas the portrait at Norfolk House was certainly painted much earlier: possibly circa 1583, in which year Lord Henry published his book on "*the poyson of supposed Prophetes,*" containing hitherto unnoticed references to the fate of the Duke (App: C. p. 148).

(A small picture of the Duke, also at Norfolk House, was first photographed for this work, but will not reproduce satisfactorily. In features he somewhat resembled his brother Lord Henry; but not in expression. Neither his portraits inherited by the present Duke of Norfolk and the Duke of Northumberland nor that in the National Portrait Gallery convey any suggestion of the personal charm which made him popular. The least unattractive rendering of him is a drawing reproduced in the C.R.S., vol. 21, 1919, p. 14, "by permission of the owner, Francis Augustus Wellesley, Esquire.")



PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION 7.

“Repentant . . . but now too late.”

The fall of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk (1571-72).

WHEN in 1583 Lord Henry Howard wrote that “the thunderbolts of Fortune” soonest strike and blast the highest trees, and that “*a multitude of meaner persons dependeth altogether upon the fortunes of the best,*” there could have been few who failed to divine that he was thinking of his father the poet-Earl of Surrey, beheaded by Henry VIII on a false charge, and of his brother Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, executed by Queen Elizabeth upon an accusation only too true. Nor would any man have resented the assertion that “*The divell maketh more account of a Dolphin’s taylor than a Mackerel’s head*”; and that whereas “*simple persons*” live obscurely and “*pass away like a cloud of smoke, . . . the others are open to ten thousand accidents, and were never yet so fortunate in this uncertayne life but either wisdom gave them cause to fear, or inconstancy to stagger . . .*”¹

In 1571, however, nobody in the outside world supposed the Duke of Norfolk in any danger. A popular ballad commended him that “*He in the pride of peace delightes in marciall shows*”; and he was one of the chief Challengers in “a solemn Joust, Tournament and fight at the Barrier,” after which the victors were “particularly led,” each by two ladies, to the Presence Chamber to receive the prizes from the Queen’s hand.²

His next public appearance was to be at Westminster Hall, the following January, to be arraigned as a traitor. The Queen’s forgiveness of his previous lapses,

¹ “*A Defensative against the Poyson of supposed Prophecies,*” &c. London 1583. (App: B). (B.M. 478.a.24.)

² “Anno 1571.” Segar, “*Honour Military and Civill 1602.*”

the assurances of Leicester and Burghley as to his repentance, did not prevent his being drawn back again into the courses he had forsworn. But before we consider his case in particular, we may ask what constituted High Treason?

The Plantagenet Kings had declared it High Treason to counterfeit coin, or counterfeit the Privy Seal; or "*When a man doth compass or imagine the Death of our Lord the King, or of our Lady his Queen, or of their eldest Son and Heir: . . . or if a Man do levy War against our Lord the King in his realm or be adherent to the King's enemies, . . .*" for any of which offences the penalty was death.¹

This law did not satisfy the Tudors: and therefore King Henry VIII pronounced in addition,

*" . . . it shall be High Treason to wish or desire by words or writing, or imagine, invent, or attempt any bodily harm to be done to the King, the Queen, or their Heirs Apparent: Or to deprive any of them of the dignity, stile, or name of their Royal Estates; or to publish that the King is an Heretick, Schismatick, Infidel, or Usurper."*²

Henry VIII could not wipe out from the public memory that his father had acquired the Crown by conquest; but in making reference to the usurpation a capital offence he could the easier keep what had been gained. And though Queen Mary cancelled some of her father's Statutes, Queen Elizabeth was obliged to make new and drastic laws when the Pope denied her right to the Crown.

The conspiracy which ruined the Duke of Norfolk now goes by the name of the "Ridolphi plot": but Ridolphi was only the paid agent of larger powers. Lifting him out of his place began in the Dutch "*Legend of Ulenspiegel*," where he is called the "favourite" of Queen Mary of Scots, "*who hoped by delivering her, to marry her afterwards and become King of England.*"

Ridolphi "came to see Philip and with him plot the murder of Queen Elizabeth. But . . . his designs were openly talked about in the Antwerp Bourse"; the plot became known, and "the murder was never committed . . ." But King Philip "never ceased to turn his pale eyes towards England, seeking how he might crush it, so as to reign thereafter over the whole world. . . ."³

That Ridolphi was Queen Mary's "favourite" and expected to "*marry her and become King*" is ridiculous; but that Philip II was hoping to be master of England is the key to the situation.

English peers of royal descent were watched both by friends and foes; who speculated which of them might ascend the throne of England; whether as King Consort, or as Her Majesty's successor if she continued to postpone marriage, or if marrying she did not leave children: or supposing she were overtaken by death

¹ "*A Collection of the Several Statutes and Parts of Statutes Now in Force, relating to HIGH TREASON, and Mispriison of High Treason. London . . . 1709.*" (Beginning with 25 Edward III, Statute 5. Cap: 2, defining what is treason, and is not.)

² 26. H. VIII. Cap. 13. ³ Coster. Op. cit. trans: Atkinson, 1922. Vol. II. p. 171.

"natural or otherwise" as the Duke of Alba had expressed it;¹ and the Queen of Scots were to be crowned in her place.²

The Duke of Norfolk's first wife, Lady Mary FitzAlan, was mother in 1554 of his son and heir Philip, Earl of Surrey, godson of King Philip of Spain and England. The Duchess survived the christening only a few months; and Norfolk soon married Margaret, widow of Lord Henry Dudley, daughter and heiress of Thomas Lord Audley of Walden in Essex. By her he had two sons, Thomas and William, and one daughter Margaret. After her death he took a third wife; who died early, in childbirth; her baby with her. Then in an evil hour the Duke was drawn into believing he should seek a fourth in Mary Queen of Scotland.

Queen Mary's consent is not difficult to understand. With her vivid mind, her many abilities, her capacity for action, the monotonous existence of a prisoner was a perpetual torment. Any means of deliverance allured her, provided it did not entail deviation from the Catholic religion, to which she was inviolably constant.³ That her proposed husband was a heretic mattered the less, in that he had been Catholic under Philip and Mary, and might be Catholic again, when with the assistance of the King of Spain he should be enabled to become husband of the true Queen of England, as the Queen of Scots had been taught in France to consider herself. A letter of hers to the Duke, dated 17th of May (no year), acknowledges his "comfortable writings." It is not in French (as her letters usually are) but in

¹ Simancas MS. Estado 823.

² See Unpublished Royal MS. 16. E.XXXVI. f. 69, "*Un Catalogue des pretendans a la couronne apres la royne d'Angleterre, et qui est le plus-proche par leur loi politique.*" List of "*Seigneurs Anglois et estrangers pretendans droit a la couronne apres le deces d'Elizabeth a present Royne d'Angleterre.*" The treatise begins with English claimants (a) under the Will of Henry VIII; and (b) in detail, children of the Earl of Hertford, and of "Baron de Strange"; and *Duke of Norfolk*; *Viscount Hereford*; and *Earl of Huntingdon*, "My Lord de Staffort," Earl of Rutland, Lords "Scroup" & "de Barklay"; Earl of Westmorland. And (c) reasons against the children of the Earl of Hertford; (d) others in detail: Earl of Worcester, Countess of Lennox and reasons against her. *The Queen of Scotland, and English reasons against her.* (e) The "*loi politique*" of England; examples of foreign princes governing England in spite thereof. Duke William of Normandy, etc. Examples of foreign princes having lands in England. (f) Reasons why Henry VII married his daughter to the King of Scotland; wars made by England against the Scots for the last 60 years; constant attempts of the English to subjugate Scotland.

This is part 2 of a political description of England, in three parts, dated "S. Germain des Prez lez Paris, 2 Jan 1571." Addressed to "*Mon seigneur de Saulves*" (Simon de Fozes, Baron de Sauves) "*conseiller du roy en son conseil priue, secretaire d'estat et des finances*" . . .

³ Bibliophiles set store by a 12 page pamphlet "*A Discourse touching the pretended match between the Duke of Norfolk and the Queene of Scottes*"; and an American historian in 1925 argued that it was written by Walsingham. But it is obviously from the pen of a Scotsman: "*whilke*" for "*which*" is used throughout, and the writer's clumsy vituperation is not that of a statesman. "In Religion she is either a Papist, whilke is euill, or else an Atheist whilke is worse," is a sentence impossible for Walsingham, who knew devotion to the Catholic Church to be her ruling principle, and who could not have called her an "atheist" without such wilful mendacity as would have discredited him. Moreover he was absent in France at this time.

There was a tract "*Salutem in Christo. Good men and euill delite in Contraryeis,*" printed "*At London the viii of October, 1571,*" signed "*Your lovyng Brother in Lawe R.G.*" Blackletter, 5 leaves, 12^{mo}. N.D.

And a "*Brief History of the Life of Mary Queen of Scots and the Occasions that brought her and Thomas Duke of Norfolk to their Tragical ends*" &c. was issued in 1681.

Scots; and ends "*Your own fethful to death hwa schel not have any advancement or rest without you . . .*"¹

We can now see the Queen of Scotland as one of the most ill-starred Monarchs in the whole of history; but by Elizabethan Protestants she was regarded as a wicked syren.² That her first husband had died in boyhood, her second been murdered, and that her third was a fugitive and prisoner, gave the populace a notion of some sinister fatality behind her. And though Norfolk cannot have believed her capable of the crimes imputed to her by the Scottish Lords, there was no romantic passion on his part towards "that woman," as he called her after retribution came upon him.

Being the only Duke in Elizabethan England, of near kin to the Queen, and a favourite with the people, his sudden downfall caused as much astonishment as dismay:

"The beginning of a new yeare brought forth a new Tragical spectacle to the Inhabitants of London; for in the Palace of Westminster a Scaffold was erected, from the one end to the other, with a Tribunall upon it, and seates on either side; the like had not been seene for eighteen yeeres before. Thither upon the sixteenth day of January was Thomas Duke of Norfolke conducted . . ."³

On Monday the 14th, George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, had been appointed Steward for the trial.⁴ On the same day 26 peers were summoned to be in the Great Hall at Westminster at seven a.m. on Wednesday the 16th of that month.⁵ They included Thomas Earl of Sussex, whose generalship had broken the Northern rebellion; Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick, and Edward Lord Clinton, Lord High Admiral, who had jointly commanded "the Army of the South" on the same occasion; also the Duke's personal friend Robert Earl of Leicester; his yet more intimate friend William Lord Burghley; his cousin (who was also the Queen's cousin) Walter Devereux Viscount Hereford, recently Marshal of the Southern Army, named on the Continent second to the Duke himself among peers eligible for the Succession of the Crown.⁶

¹ Hatfield MS. 133. 7. With cipher deciphered. Cal. XIII. p. 99, with notes on other version previously published from Harl: MS. 290. f.87. Another, No. 133. 8. printed by Murdin, *State Papers*, p. 158; and by Prince A. Lobanoff, III, pp. 36-37.

² Caricature of her as a mermaid reproduced in Andrew Lang's "*Portraits and Jewels of Mary Stuart*," 1906.

³ Book 2. p. 285, "*Annales: The True and Royall History of the famous Empress Elizabeth Queen of England*," &c., &c. London 1625. (Purporting to be by Abraham Darcie from the French. Actually taken without acknowledgment from Camden's *Annals*.)

⁴ *Baga de Secretis*. m. 14. Infra App: list of official MSS. re "Thomas Dux Norff."

⁵ Ib: m. 9. Full list printed in Deputy Keeper's *Report*, Vol. IV. (2) p. 269; and in Camden's *Annals*.

⁶ Hereford had no such ambition; and may never even have heard of the suggestion. But 30 years later, this near relationship with the Queen was to contribute to the ruin of his son and heir. Between the case of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, the first peer executed under Queen Elizabeth's rule,—executed for consorting with her foes—and Robert Earl of Essex, the last peer she beheaded, there is much difference; yet as both were arraigned for "High Treason" we will ultimately see to what dissimilar matters this phrase could be applied, before and after the death of Lord Burghley.

In the current Oxford miscellany entitled "*Shakespeare's England*," a chapter upon Elizabethan Law takes scant account of what is most essential for the understanding of politics; namely the amplifications of the older laws against Treason, and the increase of severity in legislation against Catholics. These allied subjects will become clear through the present work; and by the time we reach the end of the reign we shall know in which cases the law was "stretched," and in what instances the application was reasonable. Either way, the word "trial" did not convey the same meaning as it does to-day. A trial for High Treason was not an enquiry into the circumstances, with the intention of the accused being acquitted if innocent. *A peer, or any subject, arraigned for High Treason was not allowed counsel for the defence. His interrogation was a ceremony, at which judges selected for the purpose were expected to be unanimous in his condemnation. The formula for the peers is always the same, "Dicit quod est culpabilis." The actual trial was conducted by examination beforehand; and the arraignment was hardly ever attempted in public until the verdict had been determined in private.*

A peer taken from the Tower of London to Westminster Hall, knew this meant sentence of death. Even though, as a matter of form, the axe was carried with the edge turned away from him until doom was pronounced, his only hope was in the clemency of the Sovereign, without whose signature the death sentence had no operative power.

As to Norfolk, his renewal of connection with the enemies of England had not been credited on a first rumour. Unlike his father—who had been condemned without a shadow of evidence of his alleged designs on the Crown, and executed swiftly,—he was given ample time to extricate himself from the toils, after the suppression of the rising in 1569. Instead of taking warning, he allowed himself to be drawn further and further into the labyrinth of foreign intrigue: and this despite the Queen's previous pardon, and his solemn promises of amendment.

At his arraignment his pretext for pleading "Not Guilty" was that although he had given access to Ridolphi, he had not desired nor countenanced, nor would have permitted, any harm to Her Majesty's person; and that his projected marriage should not be called treason, seeing the Queen of Scots was without a kingdom.

It was answered that in the betrothal he could not have had any other motive than ambition: "*You never saw her; you could not then be carried with love of her person; . . . her kingdom of Scotland you esteemed not; . . . it was not of so good value as your own possessions . . .*"

An "old blind prophecy," found among his papers, was then quoted as having led him astray:

"In exaltatione Lunae Leo succumbet et Leo cum Leone conjungetur, et catuli eorum Regnabunt; which belike is thus to be expounded: *At the Exaltation of the Moon* (which was the rising of the Earl of Northumberland, . . .) *the Lion* (which is the Queen's Majesty) *shall be overthrown; then shall the Lion be joined with a Lion,* (which is the Duke of Norfolk with the

¹ "*The Tryal of Thomas Duke of Norfolk*" (1709). p. 58.

Scottish Queen, for they both bear Lions in their Arms,) *and their Whelps shall Reign*; (that is their Posterity shall have the kingdom).¹

Duke. I do not remember any such Prophecy.

Serj. It was in your own keeping.

Duke. What should I do with it?

Serj. Such blind Prophecies have oft deceived Noble Men.

Duke. This is nothing to the purpose . . . ”²

It was considered very much to the purpose; for as the Scottish Queen was the Pope's nominee for the crown of England, her intending husband could hardly have expected her to live merely as Duchess of Norfolk.

From the evidence produced in Westminster Hall no agent of Spain could have suspected that Captain Hawkins had revealed to the Queen the overtures made to him. Though the dismissal of the Spanish Ambassador and the arraignment of the Duke of Norfolk demonstrated to the world how vigilantly Queen Elizabeth was guarded, and how resolute her Councillors were to keep her on the throne, nothing was made public except what it did no harm for Spain to learn.

The case turned upon whether the Duke's actions came under the heading of Treason as defined by Statute Law; which plainly they did, several times over.

To be adherent to the Sovereign's enemies, and intend to profit by their machinations, was High Treason. Penalty, death. To be aware of a conspiracy against the Crown, and not at once reveal it, was High Treason. Penalty, death.

That the offender was a Protestant made it the more incongruous that he should have been persuaded to consent to a scheme for marriage with a Catholic Princess, whose hope of liberation was based on the invasion and conquest of

¹ In a contemporary ballad "*The Plagues of Northumberland*" by John Barker, "*Imprinted at London . . . at the signe of Saint John Euangelist, by Thomas Colwell,*" the peers are represented by their crests. It begins:

"*When that the Moon, in Northumberland*

Did rise with force, then to withstande
The lyght and bright beames of the Sonne

. . . then anone the *Westmere Bull*
Beheld the rysinge of this Moone," etc., etc.

And the balladist rings the changes on "*that cloudy Moone,*" "*the false beames of the Glystering Moone*" etc.

Also in "*Joyfull Newes for true Subiectes to God and the Crowne,*" by "W. Kyrkh," "*Imprinted at London, in Fleet Streete . . .*"

"The Westmerland bull and the man in the moone,
The beare hath brought their brauerie downe,
I dare saye for sorowe they are redy to swoone,
That ever they ymagynde to trouble the Crowne."

There was further "*Imprinted at London in Fletestreat, at the signe of the Faucon . . . 1570,*" "*A newe Ballade, intituled, Agaynst Rebellious and false rumours. To the newe tune of the Blacke Almaine upon Scissilia.*"

"*A Collection of Seventy-Nine Black Letter Ballads . . .*" London, 1867. pp. 56, 59, 232, 239-243.

² "*The Tryall,*" pp. 71-72. But for indication that his brother believed he had been fatally influenced by it, see App: B, p. 149.

England by the King of Spain, blessed by the "Bishop of Rome," as the Duke termed Pope Pius.

The Lord High Steward, George Earl of Shrewsbury, pronounced the terrible doom of mutilation of the living body, which the law imposed upon traitors. And after having forfeited all titles, honours, and possessions, "Thomas Howard *late* Duke of Norfolk,"—imploing the Queen's mercy,—was conducted back to the Tower.

Though his estates and personal property were forfeit to the Crown, he was not without hope that his penitence might soften the Queen into taking pity upon his children.

For the sake of a marriage he only half desired, and a Crown he did not really want, Norfolk forfeited his all; and, what grieved him most, brought trouble upon his children, his "poor Brats," as he called them. His plight was the more humiliating in that he had none of the proud consciousness of innocence which had enabled his father Surrey to meet death with a lofty disdain for the "sick world."

He poured out his heart "To my louing Children, specially to Philip and Nan."¹

"Deare Children this is y^e last L^r y^t ever I thinke to write to you, and therefore if you loved me, or y^t you will seeme grateful to me for y^e speciall love y^t I have ever borne unto you, then remember and folow these my last Lessons. O Philip *serve and feare God above all thinges. I finde y^e fault in myselfe y^t I have, God forgive me, been to negligent in this poynt . . .*

"*Beware of y^e Court except it be to doe your Prince Service, and y^t as neare as you can in y^e meanest degree: for y^t place hath noe certainty . . . And lastly delight to spend some tyme in reading of y^e Scriptures, for therein is y^e whole comfort of mans lyfe, all other thinges are vaine and transitory . . . And upon my Blessing beware of blynd Papistry w^{ch} bringes nothing but bondage to mens Consciences . . .*

"*. . . perchance you have heretofore heard, or perchance may hereafter heare false bruities y^t I was a Papist: But trust unto it, I never since I knew what Religion meant, I thanke God, was of other mynde than now you shall heare that I dye in, although I cry God mercy I have not given fruites and testimony of my faith as I ought to ha' done . . .*

"The 20 of January 1571. God be all your comfort, Amen, and send me to dye his servant . . . God bless you and keep you in his feare. Amen.

"Written by y^e hande of yo^r loving father and father in lawe now being ready and willing to parte oute of this world I hope into life everlasting."

Though his Dukedom was forfeited, from force of old habit he signed "N."

This is addressed "*To all my lovinge Children and Daughter in lawes.*" But his chief care was for Philip, to whom there is a letter for himself alone, dated the same day, but not intended to be given to him until after the execution.² It

¹ "Nan" was Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Lord Dacre of Gillesland: aged 14: wife of Philip Earl of Surrey, aged 16. Ensuing is from "*Copia vera The D. of Norfolk's L^re a little before his Death . . .*" Harl: 787. No. 104. ff. 112-113. First printed in 1815 by Geo. Fred^k. Nott, in "*Works of Henry Howard Earl of Surrey and of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder*," Vol. I. App: XXV, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxviii (B.M. 641.m.3). Reprinted in Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth*" etc. 1838. Vol. I. (7 pp.) Extract in Canon M. A. Tierney's "*History and Antiquities of the Castle and Town of Arundel, including the Biographies of its Earls, from the Conquest to the Present Time*," 1824. Vol. I. pp. 362-367. (B.M. 23 67. c.19.) Shorter extracts in Mary Hervey's "*Life of Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel*," 1921. pp. 5-6. (B.M. 01. 0855. d.16.)

² Harl: MS. 787. No. 105. ff. 115b, 116, (copy).

advises him how with Burghley's aid he may preserve some hereditary lands which had been settled upon him by conveyance. In the ordinary course they would be taken from him by Act of Parliament; but "*My L^d Burghley hath been ever my friend, and therefore I hope he will be yours.*"

"My Couzen of Oxford is too negligent in his freinds Causes, or else he might doe you more good than any kinsman you have."¹

From the Queen herself he should seek mercy direct.

The command to beware of all "Papists" is reiterated.

"You and Nanne haue my last written farewell. God bless you both, and yours.

"Written wth ye hand of him y^t was your louing and naturall father, and now is, before this come to your handes, I trust, partaker of y^e Heavenly joyes: . . .

"January ye 20 1571. N."²

On the 2nd of January 1571-2, six days after the arraignment, the Duke wrote to the Queen:³

" . . . my most Dread Sovereign Lady . . . I most humbly beseech your Highness that I may end with your Majesty's most gracious and charitable forgiveness. This is all the suits and the last that ever, by God's help, I a cast-away mind to make to your Highness in mine own wretched behalf."

He hears it has been said of him that he accused the peers of having "unjustly" condemned him: "which speech I protest to your Majesty I never uttered." What he begs is that the Queen will pity his "poor orphan children," who are just at the years when they most need a father to have care of them:

" . . . I fear that as now they have neither Father nor Mother, if it be not by your Majesty's most gracious goodness, that they poor innocents shall find but few friends."

If they do not serve her well "*I pray God soon to send them to follow their unhappy Father.*"

"If that with your Majesty's most gracious licence, I might be so bold as to (counsel) the poor Orphans to adopt a Father, who might bridle and rule their young inexperienced years, *I would hope that my good Lord Burley, for the old Love, Good-will and Friendship that he hath borne unto me their woeful Father, would be intreated to extend his charitable and friendly favour now in fathring them*, who are otherwise destitute. And I would hope that they should be as obedient to him as ever they were to me; and then that they should be brought up in God's true fear, whereby they should the better learn to know their obedient duty to your Majesty and their Country . . ."

Apologising for his "ill and scribbling writing," the result of his "being overwhelmed with

¹ Edward, 17th Earl. The Duke's mother was Lady Frances de Vere, sister of John, 16th Earl; so they were thus first cousins. That Oxford "is too negligent" etc. is to be noted. It clashes with the oft repeated legend that Oxford was so attached to the Duke, and so angry with Burghley for not saving his life, that in order to be avenged upon Burghley he alienated himself from his wife, Burghley's daughter, and wasted his estate in order to annoy his father-in-law! Whoever first invented this story, was unaware that Burghley was the "friendly and vigilant nobleman" upon whose influence with the Queen the Duke relied to move her to mercy upon his children. Secondly the inventor failed to notice that the animus of Oxford against his wife was not shown at the time of the Duke's condemnation, but several years later, on Oxford's return from a tour in France and Italy. See Captain B. M. Ward, "*The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford*" (1928), for particulars.

² End of Harl: MS 787. 105. The letter is exceedingly long, abounding in repetitions.

³ Holog: "Thomas Howard late Duke of Norfolk, from the Tower to the Queen's Majesty. Jan. 21. Presented by Henry Skipwith Jan. 22, 1571" (2). (*State Papers*, ed: Murdin, 1759. pp. 166-167.)

Sorrow and Care," he prays God to preserve Her Majesty, "to the Glory of God, to the Increase of true Gospellers, and comfort of all good subjects. Amen Amen.

"Written by the woefull hand of a dead man, your Majesty's most unworthy Subject, and yet your Majesty's in my humble prayer until the last breath.

THOMAS HOWARD."

The Queen took pity upon him, or was persuaded by Burghley so to do; and on the 23rd of January he wrote,

"My most redoubted Sovereign Lady,

"No pen can express the comfort which I, miserable wretch, received by your Excellent Majesty's most gracious message concerning your Highness's intended goodness towards my poor unfortunate Brats, which now in their shipwreck be cast into the fearful surges of the sea, desperate of every relief, except they . . . be taken up by the noble and most merciful Queen . . ."

He thanks her for rewarding ill with good; and is greatly relieved that "*it hath pleased your Majesty to christen them with such an adopted father as my good Lord Burghley is.*" He also thanks "my good Lord" for his kindness in "receiving the poor infants under his most friendly care."

As to the matters which had brought him to his present state, he again admits that "these practices of Rebellions and Invasions" rumoured, were more than rumours, but he tries to persuade her that he was not as guilty as the "shameless Scot" and "Italian Englishman" through whose persuasions he had fallen.¹

His pleasant manners made him beloved by his servants; and one of them wrote to Burghley and suggested that he and "my Lord of Leicester" might try to get the Queen to spare the Duke's life; for if he were pardoned he would never again wish to marry "that woman," the Scottish Queen.²

Such a pardon was out of the question. But at least the innocent were not punished for the guilty; for the law, which bore so heavily upon the children of condemned traitors, was to be relaxed by the Queen's "special grace."

From the moment the Duke was reassured on this point, his "sorrow and care" became less acute; and his heart was touched anew by finding compassion which he was conscious of not having deserved.³

On the 28th of January he wrote to his "deare Children," that next to love of God, their "*dutye in this world*" would be "*obedience and earnest dutifull love to*

¹ Orig: (Hatfield) Ib: p. 170.

² Henrie Skipworth to Ld: Burghley 16 Feb: 1571 (2) *State Papers*, Murrin. 1759.

³ He says this plainly. But the editor of *Catholic Records*, Vol. 21, "*The English Martyrs*," Vol. II (1919), p. 15, after quoting the Duke's writings, remarks "*There can be no doubt that these letters of farewell do show a state of nervous anxiety which is abnormal.*" Rather might we accuse him of abnormality if he had failed to intercede for his children. That he was thankful when the Queen, whom he had conspired to dethrone, vouchsafed him reassurance as to her pity upon his heirs is hardly sufficient cause for Father Pollen's statement, "*There is no doubt that the Duke was affected, cowed and upset by the terrific tyranny against which he had no protection.*" Any man would be "upset" at the prospect of having his head cut off. But it cannot justly be called "*terrific tyranny*" to execute the premier peer, after he had encouraged a plot for foreign invasion and betrothed himself to the Princess who was to have been enthroned by force of arms in his Sovereign's place.

your *Souveraigne Lady and M^{rs}*, w^{ch} lesson we are taught out of y^e Scripture. ."¹ He told them they were henceforth to regard Lord Burghley as their father.²

"Therefore my Children, euen upon my blessing I charge and require you, as you will answer before Almighty God, y^t you be as humble and obedyent unto my good L^d now yo^r adopted father, as you would haue been to my selfe if I had bene lyuinge. And I charge you Philip wth this about all y^e rest. Lett your example of obedyence be a pattern to y^e others.

"Beware and take heed, God doth not a little plague those children who doe not faithfully performe theyr fathers godly commandm^{ts} . . . take heed how you wth disobedyence turne my Blessing ex aduerso. For all y^e freindshipp y^t I haue heretofore found at my good L^{ds} handes, and specially now in his acceptinge of you my greatest care under his most freindly Gouvernm^t, I cannot recompence more then wth my prayers during my short lyfe, nor can make other satisfac(ti)on, nor yee being but castawayes can otherwise shew your gratefulness, but with humble and lowly obedyence, w^{ch} once againe upon my blessinge I charge you to keepe.

"Now I giue ouer my fatherly right to your new father, unto whom I doubt not but for your vertuous bringing up you shall be more beholding thenne you haue bene to me. Farewell, my wellbeloved Children, and God bless you, both now and evermore. Amen.

"28 of January 1571. Written by ye dying hand of your unhappy naturall father in this world.

THO: HOWARD."

But he was not yet taken out to Tower Hill to suffer the last penalty.

On the 10th of February he sent his faithful servant William Dix a letter written into "*The Newe Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christ faithfully translated out of the Greke, with the Notes and Expositions of the dark places therein.*" This is at Arundel Castle now.³ At the end of the dedication to Edward VI, the Duke wrote his message.⁴

The following day, the Duke wrote again to his eldest son: a letter very lengthy and pathetic:

¹ Harl: MS 787. 106. f. 116, 116^b. With the previous copy; and headed "Another bearing date January 28, 1571." (Not given by Nott and Wright who print the first letter of the 20th.)

² "He that hath been soe great a freind to y^e ffather will not forgett it to his poore children, if y^e fault be not in yo^r selues: weighing againe whose wisdom, grauity, carefullnes, and great experience in ordering of youth (as thankes be to God besides his owne there appears other Examples euen at this day to y^e great comfort of this Realme,) might best keep vnder in you all vice, and plant in y^e same all vertue and godlyness: I haue been soe bold as wth humble suite to make choyce of my good L^d Burghley to be your adopted father, . . ."

³ In New Testament of Edward VI, whose portrait forms the frontispiece: inscribed "*Edwardus Sextus Dei Gratia Angliae, Francia, et Hiberniae Rex, &c. etatis suae XV.*" Quotation (Latin) from "Matthew XIII. f.;" and then

"The pearle which Christ commended to be bought,
Is here to be found nor else to be sought."

⁴ His allusion to his eldest son the Earl of Surrey, and to Surrey's wife, by their Christian names was unusual in that ceremonious age.

"Farewell good Dyx, your servys hathe been so faythefull unto me as I ame sorrye that I can not make prof of my good wyll to recompense ytt. I trust my death schall not make no change in you towards myne, but that you will faythfullye performe the trust that I have reposed in you.

"Forgett not with planeness to counsell and advyse Phyllys and Nannes unexperienced yeares, the rest of ther brothers and systers well doying resteth much upon ther vertyews and consyderate dealyns. . . .

"and so hopying off your honestye and faythefulnes when I am deade, I bide you thys my last farewell.

"the 10 off Febru: 1571. T.H."

"Nowe my deare sonne philyppe, the ower is come that yo^r earthlie Father must byd yo^u fayrewell, . . . as also yo^r lovinge wyffe my welbeloved daughter, yo^r two brothers, . . . and my none swyte daughter, with your pretty sister in Laws."¹

He tells them that if they do not by loyal service make amends for his "disobedience" he will "pray God send you short lives." He leaves them first to God, second to the Queen, and third to their adopted father who "will be to you as another myself."² They are to read the book of Job and the "psalmes of good King David" in a Bible he sends as a parting gift:

"the cause why I send you this book is because if you study it well, and live accordingly, you shall be thereby taught to fear to do ill. *God forgive me, if I had done as now I counsel you, this misfortune had not chanced . . .*

"O Philip is not thus then a worthy book, . . . meditate upon it; and the Lord will bless you, not only in this world, but also in the world to come, where I most humbly beseech Him grant us a joyful meeting."

Urging the boy to pray for the Queen's preservation, he bids him if he loves his life and wishes to save what little property is left to him, "beware of factions."

" . . . Farewell dear Son . . .

"The xj of February, which within four hours might be written with my heart's blood. Remember my lessons and forget me. Written between 4 and 5 of the clock. Your earthly woeful father . . . sometime NORFOLK

now THO: HOWARD."

But he was allowed nearly eleven weeks more in which to set his affairs in order. Then on the 9th of April the Sheriff of London received orders in preparation for the final scene.³ It would have not been politic for the Queen to have pardoned an offender of such exalted rank;⁴ but Burghley again succeeded in delaying the hour of death: for which the captive was thankful.⁵

There were many things then on the Queen's mind: The negotiations in France for her marriage, the discovery of the second foreign conspiracy; the war in Scotland: As Burghley noted,

(1571-2) Jan: 3. Charles the French King gave Commission to the D(uke) Montmorency (and others) to treat of a firm Peace with the Queen of Englands Deputies.

16. Die Mercurii Tho. D. of Norfolk arrayned and condemned in Westminster-hall.

Feb. 9. The Q. Majesty gave Commission under hir great Seal to Sir Tho. Smyth, Mr. Francis Walsyngham, Henry Killigrew, to make a Treaty of Peace with Charles the French Kyng or his Deputies.

Peace negotiations being most efficacious when the negotiator is prepared for war, Burghley, on March 1st, notes "*Ordre gyven to buyld new Shippes.*"

Despite the dismissal of the Spanish Ambassador in December, communication with Spain was re-opened. Burghley noted,

¹ S.P.D. Eliz: LXXXV. 42-42^b. Dated 11 Feb, it is docketed by Burghley "27 febr. 1571. hora Va mane D of Norfolk to his sonne." Not holograph. "*Examined by my selfe*" is written on to it just before the end. Another copy add: MS. 32, 379, ff. 57-58; also Harl: MS. 6991, n. 2; and Lansdowne 449, f. 20. The original would have been sent to the Earl of Surrey; but may ultimately have been confiscated with other papers when he was arrested in 1585.

² The Duke's expressions of admiration for and trust in Lord Burghley have been overlooked by all who to-day repeat Raleigh's story, started in 1600, that Burghley had been the "contriver of Norfolk's ruin."

³ *State Papers*, ed. Murdin, p. 17. ⁴ *Ib*: p. 212. ⁵ *Ib*: p. 177.

"March 25. Articles betwixt the Q. Majesty and the King of Spayne by the D of Alva and the L. Burghley Lord Thresorer of England for setting at Liberty of the Entercourse of Merchandise."

In March the previous year ('70-71) Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurst had reported a conversation of the Queen Mother of France with Guido Cavalcante, who had declared that "Envy itself," lying in watch with "Argus eyes" during the thirteen years that Queen Elizabeth had reigned, could find no manner of evidence against her honour, no matter what slanderers might allege. The Queen Mother professed herself well disposed to the alliance; and on the 12th of March it was arranged for Buckhurst as Ambassador Extraordinary to meet her, as if by chance, in the garden of the Tuileries. He assured her that his Sovereign, for the "contentation" of her subjects, was fully resolved to marry. It was decided that Monsieur de Foix should be sent to England; but in the meantime the utmost secrecy was to be observed. The next day, March the 13th, 1570-1, Buckhurst had received a paper of eight articles for beginning the negotiations.¹ Delays ensued; and it was not till the 19th of April 1572 that Burghley could record "A Peace concluded betweene the Q. Majesty and King Charles IX ye Fr Kyng at Bloys. . ."

This did not end the war in Scotland; and in May Burghley briefly noted "*The Castell of Edinburgh besigd.*"²

The same month, Parliament was called, on Thursday the 8th May, and adjourned on Monday the 30th, the fourth Parliament in the thirteen and a half years Queen Elizabeth had reigned.

On the opening day, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Sir Nicholas Bacon, in the course of a speech on the nature of "firm and stable government," drove home the basic moral that the power and prosperity of any country are proportionate to its means of defence:

"The Queen's Majesty at her coming to the Crown," had "found this her realm in a ragged and torn state," at war "with a mighty Enemy"; Calais then recently lost, "to the Realm's great dishonour and weakening; her Frontier towns not sufficiently fortified, the Revenues of the Crown greatly spoiled; the Treasure of the Realm not only wasted," but the Crown in debt; Ireland "much out of order"; the store of munition consumed, and the Royal Navy and other shipping weak. She was then in no position to carry on the contest against foreign adversaries.

Had it been otherwise, said Sir Nicholas, it is not likely she would have lent ear to French proposals of peace; but in 1558-9 she had no option. She had, however, since then used the peace to redeem her nation from its dangerously defenceless condition; in which labour she had spent her own Treasure, sold her own lands, and used every possible means "to prove her own credit both at home and abroad."

¹ Letter dated Amiens 16 March 1570 (71). S.P.D. Cal: No. 1614. pp. 489-490.

² *State Papers*, ed. Murdin, p. 774.

The enemies of England were such that the ordinary revenues were not enough. And here the duty of good subjects was apparent. Could there be any man so devoid of reason and loyalty that he would not gladly offer his best towards the safety of "*his own Country, his Sovereign, himself, his Wife and Children*;" especially when . . . the Queen's Majesty hath already and daily doth employ her own Treasure" for the same purpose, and "not in any Glorious Triumphs," of pageantry, or "superfluous and pompous buildings of delight."

The expenses, repeated the Lord Keeper, were not for luxuries but for necessities; wherefore—though her Majesty was reluctant to burden her subjects—Parliament was now summoned "that the Realm might contribute to the Realm's defence."¹

No reference was made to the Duke of Norfolk, then awaiting execution; but this silence was not extended to the Scottish Queen, "against whom the House of Commons did proceed with great earnestness"; advising Her Majesty to authorise "her final execution": which counsel "took not effect."²

When Parliament adjourned on the 30th of May 1572, the Queen of Scots had nearly fifteen more years to live; but her intended fourth husband, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, had only three more nights on earth. To William Dyx he wrote a second farewell; and again a book was his messenger. This time it was "*Grafton's Abridgement of the Chronicles of Englande. Newly and diligently corrected, and finished the last of October 1570.*"³ (Dedicating it to the Earl of Leicester, Richard Grafton explained that because of the recent rebellion it was advisable to revise his former volume and add "good lessons and examples" to deter others from such "Develishe devices.") Into this, the Duke wrote,

"Good friend George, Farewell.

"I have no other tokens to send my friends but my books; and I know how sorrowful you are, amongst the rest, for my hard hap, . . . Look well through this book, and you shall find the name of a Duke very unhappy. I pray God it may end with me and that others may speed better hereafter . . ." "Lower degree" is less perilous.

" . . . Be a friend I pray you to mine, and do my hearty commendations to your good wife and to gentle Mr. Denny.

"I die in the faith that you have ever known me to be of. Farewell good friend. 1572.

"Yours dying as he was living. NORFOLK.

"God bless my godson. Amen."⁴

It had been on the 16th of January that the peers passed sentence. Not till the

¹ Journal of the House of Lords. "*Journals of all the Parliaments . . . of Queen Elizabeth.*" 1682. pp. 194-195.

² Ib: pp. 204 and 225.

³ "*The Contents whereof appeareth in the next Page of this lefe. Seene and allowed, according to an order taken. In aedibus Richarde Tottill. Cum Privilegio.*" (At end) "*Imprinted at London in Fletestrete . . . 1570.*" B.M. 59. a.8.5. The Duke's letter written by him into Grafton's Chronicle was transcribed by Canon Tierney on to the fly leaf of the New Testament containing in the Duke's hand his previous letter to Dyx. The volume of Grafton's *Chronicle* from which the second letter was copied was then in possession of "Mr. Tadis of Bryanston Square," in 1834. Its present whereabouts are unknown.

⁴ Spelling modernised. Copy by R. Cecil Wilton, B.A.; Librarian, at Arundel Castle, 1925, from Canon Tierney's copy, 1834.

2nd of June did Burghley set down in his brief Chronology "The Duke of Norfolk suffered." He went to the scaffold, on Tower Hill, with calm composure; praying that as he was the first nobleman to be executed under Queen Elizabeth's rule, so might he be the last: to which the crowd said "Amen."

Admitting that he had been justly sentenced, he confessed he had not only "entered into matters of great importance with the Queen of Scots" without the knowledge of his Sovereign, but that Her Majesty having heard of this breach of duty and having forgiven him, he had repeated the offence. But, he protested, he did not defend the rebellion in the North; and had never consented to "Papistrie," though many of his "family and familiars" had been thus addicted.

His brief speech over, he turned to the Dean of St. Paul's and spoke in a low voice. Whereon the Dean said to the people, "The Duke intreateth you all to pray with him that God would be merciful to him; and that you would be silent, that his spirit be not disturbed."

Refusing to have his eyes covered, he "prostrated himselfe on the Scaffold, . . . laying his neck over the Blocke, (and) at one stroke his head was cut off, which the Executioner shewed: a lamentable spectacle to the people. . ."

By "his natural benignity, and courteous actions," he had long since "gained the hearts of the Multitude." And among the "wiser sort" also many deplored that "one so nobly borne, and so gentle by nature" needs must "perish so pittyously . . ." at the age of 36.

"They called also to memory the lucklesse death and destiny of his late Father, who although universally admired for Arts and Armes, had some five and twentie yeares before this, lost his head in the same place."

Among Lord Burghley's papers is a narrative in the Duke's hand, headed "*Thomas Howard, late Duke of Norffolke, my last Confessyon, and to my Remembrance true in all Poynts upon the whych I mynd to take my Deathe. February 26, 1571*" (2).²

Deploring that he cannot be permitted to live to "make amends" for his offences against the Queen's Majesty, he prays for her prosperity, regretting that prayers and not acts are all the means he now has to serve her. His peroration is an appeal to all into whose hands these his sorrowful writings may come:

"Pity my hard fortune . . . and I my self will sufficiently lament, and repent during my short life.

"This 26th of February 1571. By the wofull and repentant hand, but now too late, of

THO: HOWARD."

"*Repentant . . . but now too late*" may stand as the epitaph of this Earl Marshal of England, who, not content with the forfeited hereditary possessions of

¹ "*The True and Royall Historie of the famous Emperess Elizabeth Queen of England,*" &c., &c. London. 1625. p. 300.

² Orig: S.P. ed: Murdin, 1759: pp. 173-175.

his house restored to him by Queen Mary, and the personal dignities bestowed upon him by Queen Elizabeth, lost everything, including honour, as the penalty for assenting to the seductions of Spain.¹

Exactly a fortnight after the Duke's execution, his fifteen-year-old eldest son Philip wrote to Burghley in Latin:²

"Most honorable Protector.

"As I hold myself the most unfortunate of men, now that my dearest father has been lost, and particularly because he departed this life under the heavy displeasure of our most serene Queen, so knowing that he assigned and commended myself and my wife and brothers and sisters to your rule and care, as to a second father, I consider that in this we are very fortunate: and I pray and beseech you in my own name and in theirs to stand by us.³ Therefore I refer to your honourable care myself and all my causes; and I promise that both now and ever after I will be most observant and obedient to you in all these affairs.

"Besides, by most pressing prayers I earnestly plead with you, now that we are bereaved of our father, to use every effort to re-establish us in the grace and clemency of our surpassing Prince: hoping by the goodness of (her) our most merciful and clement Queen, by your prudent and faithful counsel, we may be able in some sort to recover that which our father deservedly lost.

"So committing and handing over to your honour mine own self and us all, I bid you most humbly farewell.

"At Walden, sixteenth of June.

"Your most humble adopted son, if as such you please to receive me. PHILIP HOWARD

"not as he was yesterday EARL OF SURREY."

But this is endorsed by Burghley's secretary "XVI June 1572 *The Earle of Surrey* to my Lord."

Burghley's answer is missing. But another letter to him, written the following summer, is not in the manner of one who doubts his welcome.

"To the right honorable my very good Lord the Lord Burleigh Lord High Threasorer of England and one of hir Ma^{ties} most honorable Privy Counsell.⁴

"Although I finde no speciall cause of writing unto yo^r Lo. at this present, the cause whereof I wholly ascribe unto yo^r Lo(rdship's) fatherly and carefull proceedinge in all my causes, yet can I not lett this messeng^r passe w^{thout} some remembrance of my dutifull and thank full mynd. Wishynge I were as well able in any respect to discharge the le(a)st part of that service wherein I am

¹ A popular ballad depicted him as praying on the scaffold that Elizabeth Regina would live

"an aged quene to be

To Inglondes joye, betyde what may of me."

Reprinted Camden Soc: *Miscell*: 1855. O.S. III. pp. 13-14. "*Verses set forth in the favour of the Duke of Norfolk his causes.*" There follows (pp. 15-16), "*An Answer*" which is hostile. But public interest in the Dukes of Norfolk was not extinguished. Four years afterwards, Gerard Legh, in his "*Accidens of Armory*," London, 1576, selecting representative coats of arms, gave "the acheuement of Thomas Lord Howarde the seconde of that name Duke of Norfolk, and Earle Marshall of Englande, for that all paynters shall learne to doe those thinges orderly." As if there had been no forfeiture by the 4th Duke, Legh states in the present tense, "The Dukes grace of Northfolke beareth iiij cotes quarterly": Howard, Brotherton, Warren and Mowbray. "Thus have I blased vnto you the acheuement of Thomas Lord Howarde the seconde of that name, Duke of Norf(olk) Earle of Surrey, and earle Marshall of England, lord Mowbray Segreve and Briesse of Goie(r) and Knight of the most honourable order of the Garter."

² S.P. Dom: LXXVIII. No. 18. Addressed "To the right honorable and my very good Lorde the Lord Burghley." Holograph. In *Catholic Records*, Vol. 21, "*The English Martyrs*," Vol. II, 1919, printed in Latin. Now first reproduced in facsimile and translated.

³ "Sisters"; his half sister Lady Margaret and his sister-in-law, his wife's sister who was married to his half-brother Lord William Howard (ancestor of the Earls of Carlisle).

⁴ S.P.D.E. XCI. 22. (only last lines holog:).

indebted, as both I am and ever wilbe redye to acknowledg and confesse yo^r Lo. goodnesse both to me and my derest friends. This whole company¹ continueth in good helth and prayeth for your Lo preservacyon, as for their chiefe and speciall Patrone, and thus wth myne humble comendacyons I take my leave.

"From Audley End this 4 of May.

"Your Lo. most humble and obedient adopted sonne

PHIL. HOWARD."

Despite this signature, the letter is docketed by Burghley, "4 Maij 1573. *Er(le) of Surrey.*"

If the Statute Law had been allowed to take its course, all the children of the Duke would have lost their titles. But owing to Burghley's influence, Philip Howard was not deprived of his Earldom, nor did his half-brothers and sister cease to be called Lord Thomas, Lord William, and Lady Margaret; though it was not until the prophecy of Thomas the Rymer had been fulfilled, and the descendants of Queen Mary of Scots ruled "*all Britain to the sea,*" that the Norfolk Dukedom was restored.²

¹ Himself and his brothers and sister.

² In 1660, by Q. Mary's great-grandson Charles II, in the person of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, Surrey, and Norfolk. He died unmarried in 1677; and was succeeded by his brother Henry, Earl of Norwich, as 13th Duke. G.E.C.'s "*Complete Peerage.*" 1895. Vol. VI. p. 55.

For portrait of Surrey when a boy see C.R.S., vol. 21, p. 18, from the orig: at Arundel Castle. Though inscribed "Phill^p Earl of Arundel," this appears to be retrospective, after he succeeded (as heir through his mother) to this ancient Earldom (E.E., Vol. V.).

See also C.R.S., 21, p. 20, for letter endorsed by Burghley's secretary "ult. Decemb. 1575: The Erle of Surrey to my Lord: his letter to hir majestie" (Lansdowne MS., xx. p. 146. Letter to the Queen now missing): "... you Lo. hath bene next unto hir Mat^y the cheife uphoulder of my weake and unhappy estate. . . ." wrote Surrey; still signing only "Phil Howard."

Ut meipsum (honoratissime patrone) omnium infelicitissimum exis-
 timo charissimo meo patre amisso maxime quod in gravissima se-
 renissima nostrae reginae indignatione ex hac vita discesserit :
 sic intelligens quod me cum uxore & fratribus sororibusq; mea tua
 dominationi quasi alteri patri commiserit & commendaverit
 fortunatissimos nos reputo orans obsecransq; & meo & eorum etiam
 omnium nomine ut te eum nobis praestes. Et igitur meipsum & omnes
 causas meas honori tuo refero cui me in omnibus causis & addictissimum
 & obsequentissimum pollicor et nunc & in posterum semper esse futu-
 rum. Preterea ardentissimis precibus a te contendo ut velis nobis iam
 patre nostro orbis excellentissima principis nostrae gratiam & clemen-
 tiam tua opera reconciliare sperans clementissima reginae bonitate
 & tuo prudenti & fideli consilio quod iam pater merito amiserit
 id nos aliquando posse recuperare. Jam me nosq; omnes tibi committens
 & tradans honorem tuum humillime valere iubeo. Waldini decimo
 sexto Junij.



humillimus adoptivus tuus fi-
 lius si talem me digneris accipe-
 re philippus howardus haud
 ita pridem comes Surriensis

Holograph letter to LORD BURGHLEY

from LORD PHILIP HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY, 16th June, 1572, aged 16:

a fortnight after the execution of his father the Duke of Norfolk,
 who had selected Lord Burghley to be the "adopted father" of the Howard children.

Now reproduced from the original, S.P.Dom. Eliz. LXXXVIII. 18.

First translated ante, p. 143.

APPENDIX A.

THE END OF THOMAS HOWARD, DUKE OF NORFOLK.¹

*Notes on his trial and condemnation (1571-2):
Documents in Baga de Secretis, and State Papers Domestic;
and at Hatfield House, &c.*

The conspiracy which caused the fall of Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, P.C., K.G.,—the first peer to be executed by Queen Elizabeth,—is of more than biographic import.²

In the current history of Charterhouse, however,—an institution with which he was closely connected,—he is nowadays dismissed without quotation of a single sentence of his own; and without indication in what quarters the student may find information. But 138 years after his execution there were still sympathisers eager to excuse his delinquencies and to emphasise his virtues. For example, a small volume (150 pp. and prelims) entitled "*The Tryal of Thomas Duke of Norfolk by his Peers for High Treason against the Queen; on Wednesday the 16 Day of January, in the Year of our Lord 1571, &c. in the XIV Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: For attempting to Marry Mary Queen of Scots without the Consent and Approbation of the said Queen Elizabeth.*"

Together with the Learned Arguments of all the Judges and Queen's Council against the Duke, with his most excellent Defence and Noble Conduct of himself, throughout the whole Tryal, from his Arraignment to his last Loyal Speech to the Lords after Sentence of Death had passed upon him.

To which is added An Historical Preface letting the Reader into the Nature of the Case, with an Epistle Dedicatory to His Grace the present Duke of Norfolk.

London. Printed for J. Morphew near Stationer's Hall, 1709." Dedication signed "Your Grace's most Obedient and Devoted Servant Joseph Brown."

As Brown's confidence in the innocence of the prisoner cannot now be shared, it will be more useful to note some of the chief MS materials.

The official papers in the Baga de Secretis, in the Record Office, are in a pouch docketed "*Baga Session com. Midd . . . coram Georgio Comte Salop . . . hac vice Senesecallo Angliae anno regni . . . Elizabeth . . . quarto decimo. Thomas Dux Norff.*" These include

m.14 Appointing George Earl of Shrewsbury (*hac vice*) Steward of England for the
14 Jan^{ry} trial of Thomas Duke of Norfolk indicted in the Queen's Bench for High Treason.
14 Eliz: (Great Seal, and Sign Manual of the Queen).
(1571-2).

m.13. Earl of Shrewsbury, to Chief Justice of the Queens Bench, Sir Robert Catlyn,
same date. to return the Indictment to him, signed.

¹ 4th Howard Duke; 11th since the title was created. See Pedigree, p. 150.

² Abroad the case was touched upon even in Catena's "*Vita del Gloriosissimo Papa Pio Qvinto*," 1587: "*Duca di Nortfolch capo della santa congiura contra Elizabetta*," p. 114. "*Duca di Nortfolch co moltri altri son fatti morire*," p. 118.

³ 1571-2.

- m.12* Queen's Writ to Sir R. Catlyn for same.
- m.11.* Thursday after the octave of St. Martin, in the form of a presentment before the Queen. Copy of the Indictment, 13 and 14 Eliz: marked "*po(int) se sup(er) pares suos.*"
- (An epitome of this is printed in the Deputy Keeper's Report, Vol. IV. App. II. pp. 267-269, with a summary of the documents).
- m.7.* Precept signed by Earl of Shrewsbury to Sir Owen Hopton, Lieut: of the Tower
Westminster of London.
14 Jan^{ry}
14 Eliz:
- m.8.* Writ of Habeas Corpus from the Queen to Sir O. Hopton to bring the Duke before
14 Jan^{ry} the Steward (Earl of Shrewsbury) on January 16th.
14 Eliz:
- m.9.* Queens Sergeant at Arms, to summon such and so many peers to be in the Great Hall of Pleas at Westminster at 7 a.m. Wednesday 16th January.
- m.10.* Panel of the 26 peers summoned: All tabulated as having found the accused guilty: *Dicit quod est culpabilis.* (See *Deputy Keeper's Report*, IV (2) p. 269).
- mm.1-6.* Memo: that Sir R. Catlyn, Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, delivered the
16 Jan^{ry} Indictment, that the Lieut: of the Tower produced the prisoner; names of the 26
14 Eliz: peers (as on the panel); record of the Indictment (as above). The Duke pleads "Not guilty" and appeals to his peers. They declare him guilty of the several charges of Treason; and the death sentence is pronounced.

His detailed pleadings are not in this pouch. These MSS (here described not from the printed Report but from the originals) are all formal documents. For personal aspects of the trial, see correspondence and interrogations, partly printed in 1759 edited by William Murdin: "*Thomas Howard, late Duke of Norffolke, my last Confessyon, and to my Rem(em)brance true in all Poynts upon the whyche I mind to take my Deathe. February 26, 1571*" (2).¹

In the *State Papers Domestic* (Eliz:) see

- Vol. LXXXI* Sir Christopher Heydon's report to the Council of proceedings at the business of
No. 28 the Duke of Norfolk:
- 30th Sept: 1571.* Inventory of his Goods.
- Ib: No. 39.* Extract from examination of the Duke.
11 Oct: (1571?).
- Ib: No. 41.* Heydon's and Buttes' report to the Council.
12 Oct:
- Ib: 47.* Declaration to Lord Burghley re letters of the Duke.
- Ib: 51. 56.* Correspondence between Sir Thomas Gresham and Lord Burghley.

¹ Orig: Hatfield MS. *State Papers*, Murdin, pp. 173-175. In this volume is much supplementary matter.

The *Hist. MSS, Comm: Calendars* of The Marques of Salisbury's MSS at Hatfield, Cal: Vols. I and II, 1883, and 1888, give short abstracts of these MSS, with page references to the publications in extenso by Haynes in 1740, and Murdin in 1759.

Murdin, pp. 162-16, printed the *answers* of the Duke, 31st October, 1571; but did not give the *questions*, for which see Hatfield Cal: I, (1883), pp. 554-555.

- Vol. LXXXIII.* Nos. 11. 19. 24. 25. and No. 54. Burghley's diary; differing slightly from that published by Murdin in *State Papers*, 1759.
- Vol. LXXXV.* Nos. 6. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15-17. 18 and 21, the Duke to Burghley. Also see Nos. 23. 27. 36. 37. 42.¹ 44.
- Vol. LXXXVI.* Nos. 3. 6. 10. 11.
- Vol. LXXXVIII.* No. 2. Date of execution (2nd June).
No. 3. Corpse "remaineth unburied in the Tower Church," 2nd June, 1572. (And No. 18).
- Vol. XCI. 1.* Appointment of the Earl of Shrewsbury as Earl Marshal of England, the office forfeited by the late Duke.
- Addenda* No. 6. An account of the trial, differing in a few details from that given in *Vol. XXI.* Howell's "*State Trials*."

¹ The Duke to his son: 11 Feb: 1571-2.

APPENDIX B.

"A NET TO CATCH THE WIND:"

Lord Henry Howard's forgotten work on Astrology and Divination.

Though from Queen Elizabeth downwards, many persons employed astrologers ("figure casters"), and credited also other forms of divination, this belief was denounced by Lord Henry Howard in "*A Defensative against the poyson of supposed Prophetes*," dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham in a long explanatory epistle, dated "From Howard House this 6 of June"¹ (no year).

The protest seems superfluous; for 21 years earlier an Act of Parliament had been passed to

¹ "*A Defensative against the poyson of supposed Prophetes: Not hitherto confuted by the penne of any man, which being grounded eyther vppon the warrant and authority of olde painted bookes, expositions of Dreames, Oracles, Reuelations, Invocations of damned spirits, Judicialles of Astrologie, or any other kinde of pretended knowledge whatsoever, De futuris contingentibus: have beene causes of great disorder in the common wealth, and cheefely among the simple and vnlerned prople: Very needful to be published at this time, considering the late offence which grew by most palpable and grosse errors in Astrology.*"

Two copies in the B.M. of the first edition 1583 (Nos. 478.a.24 and 9744); but they are tiring to read because printed solid. The edition of 1620 "reprinted by W. Iaggard" (B.M. No. 718.i.13) "Written by Henry Howard, late Earle of Northampton, Lord Priuy Seale &c.", is more convenient because "newly reuised, and diuided into diuers severall Heads and Chapters" (35 chapters; pp. 150).

forbid the "*feigning, encouraging, inventing, and publishing*" of "*fond and fantastical prophesies, as well concerning the Queen's Majesty as divers honourable personages, gentlemen and others of this reign.*"

When Lord Henry consigns fortune-tellers, prophets, and prophecies, "to the blacke deepes of hell," though he gives Scriptural reasons for so doing, his industry in collecting all the examples he could find of erroneous foretellings, whether in ancient or modern history, seems less to have been caused by zeal to warn the "*seely*" and protect the "*simple*" than to relieve some emotion of his own. He declares of prophets that "*they are perillous to the peace and quiet of a Commonwealth . . . or, like Surgions and Sextons, thrive and wax wealthy by the dearth and plague of the common people.*"² When "*the thunderbolts of Fortune sonnest strike and blast the Cedar Trees,*" "*a multitude of meaner persons dependeth altogether upon the fortune of the best,*" whose advancement or ruin therefore can never be a matter of indifference to the many.

"The divell maketh more account of a Dolphins tayle than a Mackerels head, of the soule of one King than of a thousand pesants: . . . And therefore *Potentes potenter tormenta patientes*, Mighty persons shall be mightily tormented." When astrologers desire to exercise their arts, "Noblemen light oftenest into the Nets of their imagination, because when simple persons passe away like a cloud of smoke, and leave no more impression eyther of the time, the place, or the manner of their dwelling upon earth than an arrow of his passing in the ayre, the others are open to ten thousand accidents, and were never yet so fortunate in this uncertayne life but either wisdom gave them cause to feare, or inconstancy to stagger . . . divers Noble Gentlemen, which never once conceived evill of their Prince within their hearts, . . . being put in deadly feare (of their owne decay) by fooles, and affrighted by these Images, disposed with a rusty flourish of antiquity to deceive the more, have entred into great matters and undutiful attempts, to the ruine both of their lives and honours, though the ground of all was rather to provide their own security than any meaning to forsake the bond of allegiance or to offend their Sovereign."²

After instances from the reign of Henry VIII and Queen Mary, without names,—when Howard adds that he passes over "*divers of our own examples here at home,*" because of "*the duty wherein by nature I am bound to some of them that have been spiced and bewitched with this drug*", his brother must have been in his mind; for we have seen how the prophecy which was believed to have lured the Duke to his ruin had been publicly quoted in Westminster Hall at his arraignment. And though he replied it was but a foolish "toy," his actions suggested that he had thought differently when he aspired to the hand of the Queen of Scots.

Of astrologers and prophets Lord Henry Howard says:

"For mine own part I have always conceived them to be the froth of follie, the scum of pride, the shipwracke of honour, and the poysen of nobility."

" . . . Albeit Princes daily create Earles and Barons, either for their plesure, which in this case is law, or upon just desert which hath an honest ground; And though the Heraulds be farre more liberall in these days about giving Armes (which is a branch of Sovereign prerogative) than eyther standeth with the reputation of inveterate Nobility or with the credit of that office", yet it is not new coats of arms and crests which figure in astrologers "*painted Bookes*" of symbolism. Not that the newly honoured "never do good service," nor deal in matters of "weight and moment," possibly better than others; but because ancient name and renown "*maketh sweetest musicke in the vulgar ears*", and "*this causeth them to ring out the bell of honourable Antiquity with the deepest sound.*"

He explains that though the actual writing of his *Defensative* represented only a year's labour, the material had been "collected in a book of notes, *out of the full course of all my reading from the fifteenth yeare of mine age until this day*, upon a mortal malice against Prophecies . . ."

Giving numerous instances of falsified predictions in classical history, he contrasts the precision

¹ Dedic: Sig. A.3. ² Op: cit: ed: 1620, Ch: XXIII.

of Scriptural foretellings with the ambiguous and cryptic nature of the Delphic Oracle, and of prophecies which in Tudor England had led unwise men to "hazardous enterprises" ending on the scaffold.

What Sir Francis Walsingham (a patron of Dr. John Dee,) thought of Lord Henry's contentions, there is nothing to show; but that the book was not popular is the natural inference from it not having been reprinted during the Elizabethan era. Yet Lord Henry understood the age sufficiently to place his objections upon a historical basis; and he emphasised the outlandish pedigree of astrology:

"The Latines . . . follow Greece, the Greekes derive their knowledge from Arabia, Arabia from Egypt and Chaldea; . . . the Chaldees were a wicked and ungodly kind of minde, addicted wholly to the worshipping of false Gods, and study of unlawful Artes: in which respect we should detest them . . .

"Touching all other branches of divining craft, whether they be drawn from fire, water, earth, or palmistry which I suppose to be most vaine of all, I deign them not so much as a dash with my penne, but leave the(m) to the scorne and laughter of the Learned."¹

" . . . all they that follow strange Gods and strange Oracles," shall "eyther pine and starve with Tantalus between diversity of pleasures, or feede with a false hunger and be not satisfied. For though the divell seeme to weepe and sigh for our disgrace, it is but as like a Crocodile, to bring us nearer to the Lee." "*His favours are but fancies, and make no man fat; his glory like a stayned Robe, which can give no dignity; his service as a Net to catch the wind . . .*"²

¹ Ch: XVIII.

² Ch: XXVII. Lord Henry's denunciation of Astrology as of the Devil is the more remarkable if we recall the extraordinary career of Nostradamus, the first edition of whose Book of Predictions had been printed in 1555-6 at Lyons. In 1558 he was allowed to dedicate his next publication to the King of France (Henry II). The Queen (Catherine de Medici) then sent for him, to Blois, and he cast the horoscopes of her children. He predicted sudden and violent death for her husband; and, after Henry II was killed in a tournament, it was claimed that the 35th quatrain of the "*première centurie*" of Nostradamus had foretold the calamity:

"Le lyon jeune le vieux surmontera,
En champ bellique par singulier duelle;
Dans caige d'or les yeux luy crevera,
Deux classes une, puis mourir, mort cruelle."

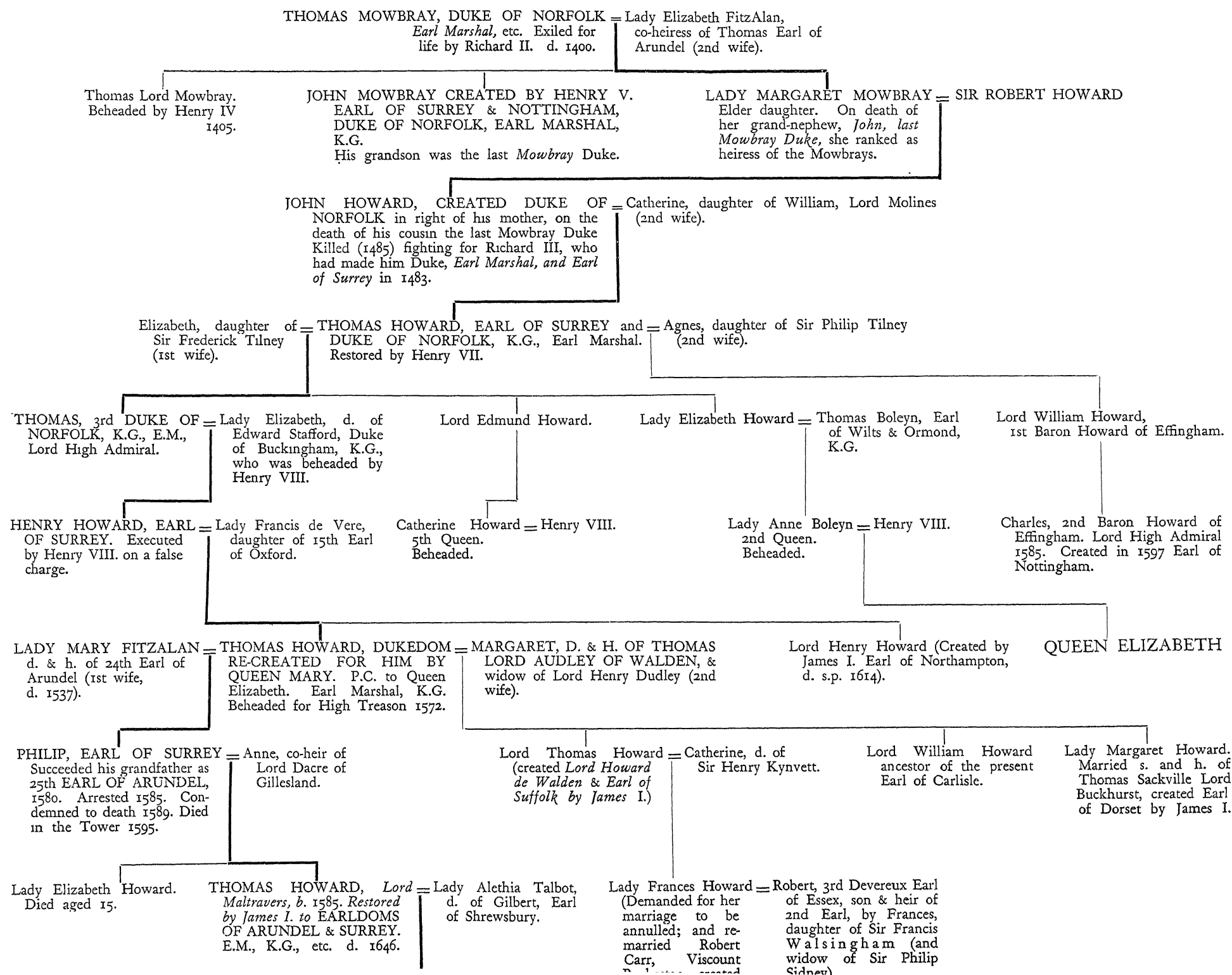
Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy (the victor of St. Quentin in 1557) was one of the patrons of Nostradamus; as also was King Charles IX. Nostradamus died 16 May, 1566, at the age of 62. He had been born in 1503, at St. Remy in Provence. An MS note on a copy of the 1568 edition of "*Les Propheties*" (in the present writer's possession), asserts that he came "*d'une famille juive; . . . de la tribe d'Issachar.*" If so, this did not prevent him enjoying the favour of Christian Sovereigns.

His preface and dedication "*Ad Caesarem Nostradamus Filium,*" dated "*De Salon, ce i de Mars 1555,*" claim that his predictions come from "*divine inspiration*" supplementing astrology. This was repeated in the edition of 1568: "*Les Propheties de M. Michel Nostradamus, Dont il y en a trois cens qui n'ont encore jamais été imprimeés. Ajoutées de nouveau par ledit Auteur. A Lyon, par Benoist Rigaud. Avec Permission, 1568.*" The little pocket volume was published at wish of his widow, Anne Ponce Gemelle, who believed that his "*divine Plume*" had been "*jugée digne d'écrire, selon la direction des Astres, tout les Evenemens qui arriveront sur la Terre.*"

Surprisingly from a Frenchman, the final quatrain on the last page (187) of the second part, dedicated "*A l'invictissime Tres-puissant & Tres Chrétien Henry Roy de France,*" begins "*Le grand empire sera par Angleterre.*"

THE NORFOLK DUKEDOM:

Table showing the relationships of the HOWARD peers to QUEEN ELIZABETH.



PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION 8.

“The Queenes Grace and Your Lordship.”

“ . . . Wee, considering the long service which our well beloved and faithfull Councillor William Cecill our Principal Secretary hath many waies done . . . do ordain and create him . . . unto the state, degree, dignity and honour of Baron of Burghley.”

*“ Given under our hand at Westminster
the XXV of Februarie in the XIII yeare of Our reigne.
By the Queen hir selfe . . . ” 1571. n.s.*

“ . . . I heard it by one of the Duchess of Feria’s servants that the King would maintain wars both in Ireland and Scotland against the Queen . . . if they may have their way, poor England, will be overcome.

Here is many practises in hand, and much evil talk both against the Queen’s Grace and your Lordship . . . ”

*“ To the Most Honourable the Lord Burlic. . . .
From the Court of Spain.” 24 June, 1572. (p. 163.)*

“Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queen, &c., &c.

Wherefore we now seeing . . . our most famous and renowned Cosin Walter Viscount Hereford . . . worthelie and valiantly to have for Us behaved . . . in that seditious tumult . . . raised . . . in the North . . . so that partly by his conduct not only the cruel furie and rage of the traytors and Rebels was there . . . repressed, but many of the Rebels also were unto Our obedience reduced, . . . We therefore . . . promote him . . . unto the state . . . of the Earle of Essex . . . (which dignity pertains to him as) next heir unto Henry Bourchier, late Earle of Essex.”

By the Queen, Greenwich. 4th May, 1572. (App: p. 167.)

“ A TRUE COPPY OF THE BILLS FOR HATCHMENTS AND REWARDS
DELIVERED TO WALTER ERLE OF ESSEX

By Garter at his Installation at Wyndesore.”

Unpublished MS appended to an account of the Installation of Walter Devereux Earl of Essex, and Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley as Knights of the Garter. The doings on the previous day “Tuesday June the xvij” 1572 and the service on the xviiith are described. The bills seem to be the only MS of the kind among the particulars of Garter Ceremonies preserved in the Record Office. (S.P.D. Eliz. LXXXVIII. 20. A. 17.)

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|----|----|----|
| helmet of steel with fine gold | | 56 | 8 |
| mantels of cloth of gold lined Satin | 4 | | |
| 2 “knopps” of burnished gold and 2 tassels of silk his colours | | 10 | 0 |
| his crest carved and gilt | | 26 | 8 |
| a large banner of his arms wrought with gold and silver | 4 | 13 | 4 |
| a staff with his banner painted of his colours | | 2 | 6 |
| an arming sword, the sheath of cloth of gold, hilt and pommel gilt | | 30 | |
| a plate of his arms with beasts supporting, graven in copper with “amel” and gilt | 4 | | |
| a book of the Statutes of the Order | | 40 | |
| Carrying the said hatchments to Windsor | | 10 | |
| Sum | 21 | 19 | 2 |

Bill of “Rewards” paid by the Earl of Essex at his Installation.

| To | £ | s. | d. | |
|----------------------------------|----|----|------|---------------|
| The College of Windsor | 6 | 12 | 4 | of a baron £5 |
| the Register | 3 | | | a Baron 40/- |
| Mr. Garter his gown | | | 40/- | |
| to the usher | | | 40/- | |
| the Officers of Arms | 6 | 13 | 4 | a baron £5 |
| the vicars and clerks | | | 20/- | |
| the verger | | | 6 | 8 |
| the sextons | | | 13 | 8 |
| the choristers | | | 5 | |
| Sum | 22 | 11 | 8 | |
| Sum of both | 43 | 10 | 10 | |

To the poor at his pleasure,
the Earl 43^{s. 4^d} Barons 40^s apiece.

Signed, “*W. Penson, Lancaster.*”

QUEEN ELIZABETH AT WANSTEAD PLACE.

*From the original by Mark Gheeraedts the Elder:
in possession of The Duke of Portland, K.G.*

Panel, 18 x 15 inches. Signed "M.G.f."

(Photograph: H. Dixon & Son).

This picture came to Welbeck Abbey through the marriage of the 2nd Duke of Portland with Lady Margaret Cavendish Holles Harley, daughter and heiress of the 2nd Harley Earl of Oxford. She had inherited it from her mother Lady Henrietta Holles (daughter and coheiress of John, Duke of Newcastle and Earl of Clare); to which lady it had been bequeathed by Matthew Prior, in a Will dated 9th August, 1721.

Undated, but possibly painted in 1572, that being one of the years in which Queen Elizabeth was entertained at Wanstead by the Earl of Leicester.

The view of the courtyard garden is reputed to be an exact representation of the old Wanstead Place, which in the late 18th century was pulled down and another house built on the site.

The Queen in her jewelled crown, wears a white dress embroidered with coloured flowers; and an olive-green embroidered cloak. Standing beside a scarlet chair,—the Royal Arms on the tapestry behind her,—it is significant that though an olive branch as the emblem of peace is in her hand, the Sword of State is at her feet.

Her pet dog, her jewelled fan and pomander, her strings of pearls, and gorgeous jewelled collar and pendant, combine to make a characteristic picture.

This picture seems to have been earlier in date than Queen Elizabeth with a Feather Fan, at Hampton Court Palace; a Panel, formerly attributed to Zuccherò; now classed as "artist unknown."

The Hampton Court portrait resembles but is not a replica of one on panel in possession of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, at Penshurst Place, believed to have been presented by the Queen to Sir Henry Sidney.

Queen Elizabeth had a collection of fans; and Mr. Ernest Law, C.B., in his *Historical Catalogue of the Pictures and Tapestries at Hampton Court*, suggests that the fan in that picture may be the one presented in 1571 by Lord Leicester, which was "*of white feathers, set in a handle of gold, garnished with very fair emeralds, and fully garnished with diamonds and rubies.*"

(It was not only Leicester who made presents to the Queen. On January the 1st, 1577-8, at Hampton Court, Philip Sidney gave Her Majesty "a smock of camerick, the sleeves and collar wrought with blae work and edged with a small bone lace of gold and silver, and a silver ruffe of cut work flourished with gold and silver set with spangles. . . ." In 1580 his offering was a "covered cup of crystal"; in 1581 "a jewel of gold, being a whip garnished with small diamonds in four rows, and cords of small seed pearl"; in 1582 "a jewel of gold like a castle, garnished with small diamonds on the one side, being a pot to set flowers in.")

Zouch, "*Memoir of . . . Sir Philip Sidney*," 1808, pp. 329-330, vaguely says that such gifts were "not unusual" at the New Year. They were obligatory. The Queen gave in return so many ounces of plate.



FESTIVAL OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER,
AT WINDSOR CASTLE:

From a print in the present writer's collection:

*"A Proceeding of the Sovereigne and Knights Companions at the Feast of St. George,
designed by Marcus Gerard, and set forth in the 20 yeare of Queen Elizabeth by Thomas
Dawes sometime Rougecroix Pursui(vant)."*

The "20th yeare of Queen Elizabeth" (1578) is the date of when this picture was "set forth" from the picture by Gheeraedts. But that 1578 cannot be the date of the festival depicted is manifest, for the following reason. In the second row from the bottom, just above the Queen and her Lord Great Chamberlain with the Sword of State, the 3rd peer is Walter Devereux Earl of Essex. He died in Ireland in 1576, and on St. George's Day 1578 his son and successor was only eleven and a half years of age, and was not a K.G. till ten years later.

Therefore what occasion is this, prior to 1576?

It cannot be earlier than 1572, for in that year Walter Viscount Hereford, having received in May the re-created Earldom of Essex, to which title he was the nearest heir by blood, was elected Knight of the Garter. The Heralds' Records show he was installed on June 18th, at the same time as Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley; whose arms we will notice above the head of the second peer.

It is by the Coats of Arms that each peer can be identified (except the second in the third row from the bottom, whose shield has been left blank).

As the Royal Arms of France will be noticed in the bottom section; and as Francis, Duke of Montmorency, came to England to receive the Garter for his Sovereign, Charles IX, (elected some years previously), and for himself, and was installed at the same festival as Essex and Burghley, the print can be dated June 1572; for which festival see the Heralds' detailed description (pp. 159-161).



Proceeding of the Sovereigne, and Knights Companions at the Feast of St. George. designed by Marcus Gheard. and set forth in the 20 yeares of Queene Elizabeth. by Thomas Dawke. sometime Raignmaker.

WALTER DEVEREUX, 1st & 18th EARL OF ESSEX, K.G.

Engraved by Lodge from the original on panel at Blithefield, Co. Stafford;

in possession of The Lord Bagot;

believed to have been given by the Earl of Essex himself

to Richard Bagot of Blithefield.

Essex's black armour is damascened in gold, and his helmet adorned with white and red plumes; *argent* and *gules*, the colours of his house. He is not holding his baton as Earl Marshal of Ireland; so the most likely date for the picture is shortly after he was installed K.G. in 1572.

In Lord Bagot's collection is also a portrait of Essex's son and successor; and one of his cousin Henry Hastings Earl of Huntingdon (head and shoulders on panel); also Sir William Cecil 1st Lord Burghley, (small half length on panel; painter unknown). And a picture of Elizabeth, wife of Walter Bagot and niece of Lord Burghley; and one of Anna, daughter of Richard Bagot, who in 1577 married Richard Broughton. "*Memorials of the Bagot Family.*" (By William, Lord Bagot), 1824, p. 143.



THE TOWN AND HAVEN OF SLUYS:

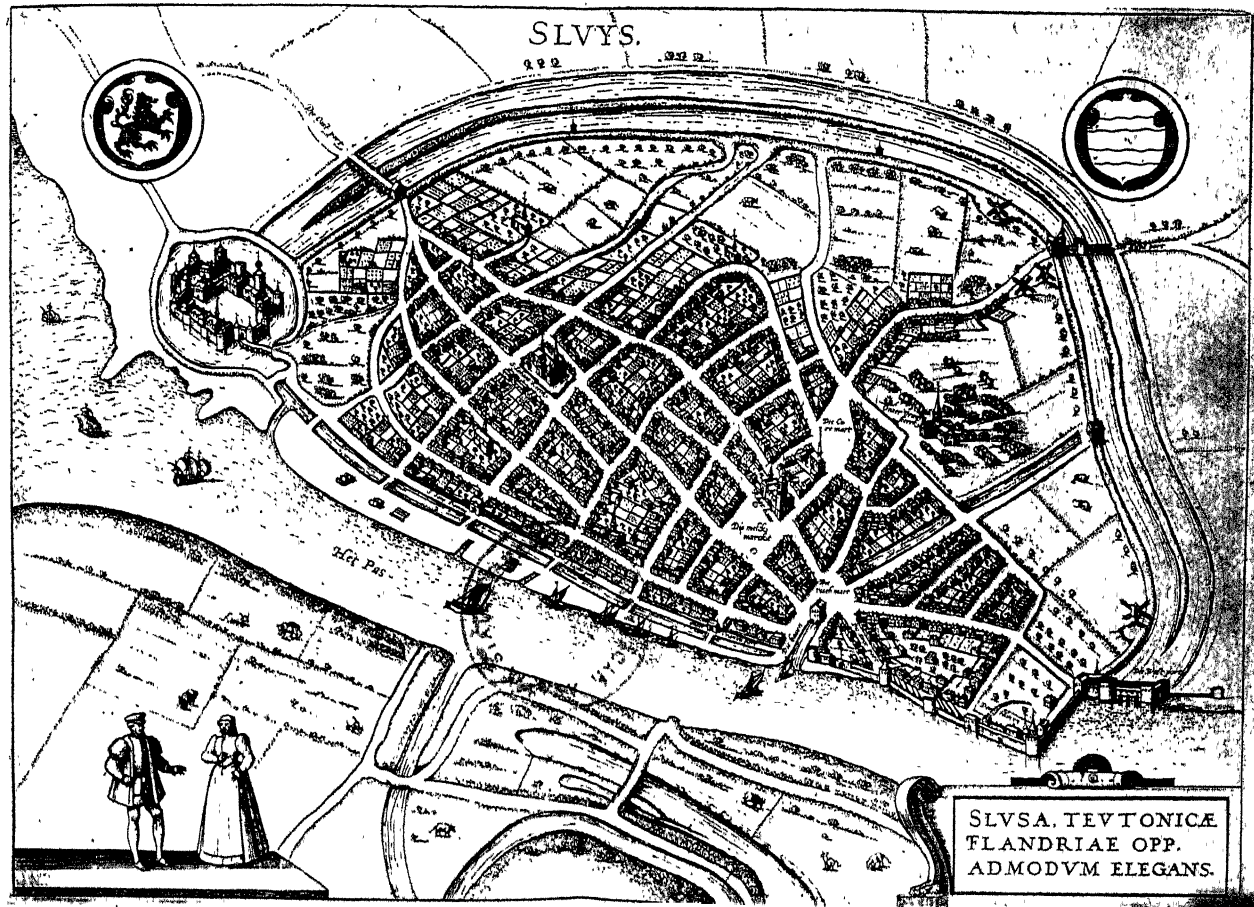
Now first reproduced from Braun and Hogenberg's "Civitates Orbis Terrarum,"

Lib: III. No. 21, (between pp. 21 and 22) (modern notation Tom I).

B.M. Maps C. 7. d. 1.

The British Museum dates this work 1573. The map itself is undated; but was presumably drawn after the now forgotten exploits of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and the English troops in 1572 brought Sluys back into the hands of England's Dutch allies.

Its capture by the Prince of Parma in 1587, after a gallant defence made by the English under Sir Roger Williams and the Dutch under Colonel van Grunevelt, will be treated fully in the present work from unpublished MSS, contemporary reports and letters; with hitherto unknown sketch plan by an officer of the garrison.



FRANÇOIS, DUC de MONTMORENCY:

Hereditary Lord High Constable of France.

Ambassador Extraordinary to England.

From a French engraving of a picture by Dejuinne. Undated; but painted prior to the Duke being elected Knight of the Garter in 1572.



PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION 8.

“The Queenes Grace and Your Lordship.”

IT had been at Westminster, 25th of February, 1570-71, that Queen Elizabeth—deeming her Royal Dignity “not onely beautified but increased” by the bestowal of honours, upon men “*for their vertues renowned, and in our most weighty affaires well experienced,*”—commended the “*circumspecion, courage, wisdome and integrity*” of Sir William Cecil. For his “*most pleasing loyalty*” to herself and his many services “*in the time of our Progenitours,*” she advanced him to the dignity of Baron of Burghley. Whereupon “attyled in a Roabe and mantle” Cecil was “in the royall Pallace of Westmonstaire, in a great assembly of Courtiers,” led by Henry Cary Lord Hunsdon and William Brooke Lord Cobham into “the Chamber of Salutation which we commonly call the Presence Chamber,” there to receive from the Queen’s own hand his Baron’s cloak and his charter.

“. . . after most great thanks gyven her,” he then to the “sound of Trumpets departed to dinner even in the same order and manner that he came in. After mid-dinner, Garter, with the rest of the Queens Heralds, comming neare vnto the table, and having first altogether in French cried aloud *Largesse*: forthwith proclaimed the Queenes stile in Latine, French and English, . . . and againe repeating *Largesse*” cried the title of “the new Baron in these wordes: “*Du tresnoble Seigneur Guillaume Cecill Chevalier Baron de Burghley*: and so having done their obeisance, and all together crying twice *Largesse*” [which they duly received] “they departed.”

The more peers created, the better it was for the Heralds, who received “*Largesse*” according to the rank of the recipients. Nevertheless, a subsequent Garter King at Arms highly disapproved of the later multiplicity of peerages under the Stuart régime:

¹ “*Catalogue of Honour.*” 1610. pp. 30-32.

"Where Honours are easily obtained there is never an end of suing for them, and everyone is so partial to himself as to conclude he is neglected if another he conceives either his equal or below him, . . . obtain it before him: so that the Advancement of one is the Discontent of another."¹

Queen Elizabeth in her reign of forty-four years "*created but six Earls, and eight or nine Barons*: So that when she died the Nobility consisted but of one Marquess" [Winchester], "nineteen Earls, two Viscounts, and about thirty Barons."²

Burghley was in his 50th year, and was Principal Secretary of State for the third time, before he received his Barony. A recognition of his work under King Edward, as well as for his last thirteen years of "daily" toil, it was the reward of "*courage, wisdom, dexterity, integrity,*" "*care and circumspection.*"

Whereas his title, taken from his mother's house of Burghley near Stamford, had been given exclusively for service rendered, one of the reasons for conferring the Earldom of Essex upon Walter Devereux, Viscount Hereford, as defined in the Royal Letters Patent, was that "*by the common Law of our Kingdome,*" he must be regarded as "*next Heire unto Henry Bouchier, late Earle of Essex.*" Therefore in order that the "glory and brightness" of the old Nobility might be maintained, the Queen thought fit to re-create the Earldom in his person: though we may doubt whether his lineage would have carried so much weight had he not expended his substance in helping to raise "the Army of the South" in which he acted as Marshal at the time of the Northern Rising.³

The other nobleman upon whom Her Majesty conferred an Earldom in 1572 at the same time as upon Lord Hereford, was a generation older: Edward Fiennes, 9th Lord Clinton, K.G., who had been Lord High Admiral of England to Queen Mary, and confirmed in that office by Queen Elizabeth.

Succeeding to his father's title in 1517 at the age of five, and brought up as a Royal ward, Clinton had been friend and companion of the poet Earl of Surrey; and step-father to King Henry VIII's illegitimate son Henry, Duke of Richmond, whose mother Elizabeth Blount, Lady Tailbois, was his first wife.

Present at the Coronation of Anne Boleyn, Clinton was one of the peers appointed to superintend her execution; and his stepson the Duke, a youth of sixteen, was also commanded by King Henry to witness this horrible scene. Whether the shock of this revelation of his father's cruelty was the real cause of the

¹ p. 304: "*Observations upon the Inconveniences that have attended the frequent promotions to Titles of Honour and Dignity since King James came to the Crown of England.* By Sir Edward Walker, Knight, Garter Principal King of Arms." Written 1653-4. Printed, London 1705 in "*Historical Discourses upon Several Occasions*" (folio). pp. 289-314.

² Op. cit. p. 300. The same Herald protests that it was not the legislation of King Henry VII which overthrew the dignity of the old Nobility. To reduce the number of their retainers did not touch their essential honour. The real trouble began under King James the First, when titles became payment for trifling service; or were a mark of personal favour; or even could be purchased by influence exerted among His Majesty's Ministers.

³ Patent, 4th May, 1572, App: p. 167.

sudden collapse of Richmond's health there is no certainty. But he died of rapid consumption, "in the flower of his loveliness"; and was deeply mourned by Surrey, to whose sister Lady Mary Howard he had been married (at least in name) since he was fourteen years old.¹

When Clinton received the Earldom of Lincoln, he was sixty years old; and few men had seen more changes. The notion that a curse came upon all who at the command of Henry VIII voted for the suppression of the monasteries does not apply to him. He remained in favour steadily to his death, outliving by nearly ten years Essex, who was young enough to be his son. He was the last survivor from the Field of the Cloth of Gold.²

The Heralds' Records show how "Walter Earle of Essex and Edward Earle of Lincolne at Greenwich on Sunday the 4th day of May 1572" came into the Presence Chamber.³ First "Sr Walter Deverox Viscount Hereford . . . in a kyrtell of Crimosin Velvet, and having on his Roabe of Estate of Crimsin Velvet wth a deep Cape of Ermyne of three rowes, and a hooode of Crimsin Velvet," was "led . . . to the Queenes presence" between Thomas Earl of Sussex on the right and Henry Earl of Huntingdon on the left; Huntingdon being both his cousin and the Queen's.

If every man had his genealogical right, it was Huntingdon who represented the Plantagenet dynasty, and should have been King of England. The Spanish Ambassador previously had set about a story that the Protestant nobility were tired of Queen Elizabeth, and meant to put in her place "a great heretic, the Earl of Huntingdon." (This had only so much foundation as that Huntingdon was the rightful heir to the old dynasty).⁴

¹ A miniature of the Duke in his night-gown, formerly in the collection of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, is now in the Royal Collection at Windsor. A print of it by R. Clump, 1794, is reproduced in William S. Childe-Pemberton's "*Elizabeth Blount and Henry the Eighth*," 1913; as also is a drawing of Lord Clinton when young and handsome. For his portrait in old age see sec. 10^d.

² His descendants are through his 1st and 2nd wives. By the 1st (Elizabeth Blount, Lady Tailbois) he had three daughters. His 2nd, Ursula, daughter of William Lord Stourton, was mother of his successor in the Earldom. He had not any children by his 3rd, Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Gerald FitzGerald, 9th Earl of Kildare and widow of Sir Anthony Browne, K.G. She is remembered now as the alleged "fair Geraldine" of the poems of his friend Henry Howard Earl of Surrey.

³ Unpublished S.P. Dom. Eliz.: LXXXVI. No. 35. Signed Wm. Penson, Lancaster Herald (Calendared).

⁴ George Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV and Richard III, had married Lady Isabel Neville, daughter of Richard, Earl of Warwick, the "King-maker," by whom he had an only son Lord Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick; who should have been King after Richard III, but who was beheaded by Henry VII. This Earl of Warwick had a sister Lady Margaret, next heir to the Crown. King Henry VIII created her Countess of Salisbury. But in her old age he beheaded her in the Tower, on a palpably false accusation of aiming at the Crown. Henry Hastings Earl of Huntingdon, K.G., was the son of her grand-daughter and heiress, Catherine de La Pole, daughter of Henry Lord Montacute.

What Queen Elizabeth always ignored was that the Tudor dynasty was built by her grandfather not only upon the overthrow of King Richard III in battle, but also upon the judicial murder of King Richard's nephew and heir the last male Plantagenet: a boy who had never taken part in public affairs; one whose forlorn life and violent death would have aroused much sympathy, had it not been for Henry the usurper's cleverness in posing as a benefactor of the people. It was the tragedy of young Warwick that the English Catholics had in mind, as also the Spaniards, when, despite the marriage of Henry VII to Elizabeth of York, they described his grand-daughter as the representative of "a dynasty of usurpers."

He and the Earls of Leicester and Bedford escorted Hereford into the Presence Chamber. Kneeling before the Queen, Hereford heard his Patent as Earl of Essex and Ewe read aloud in Latin; and at the words "*Gladio cincturiamus*" the Queen herself girded on his sword.

From that day his eldest son and heir "Robin" became Viscount Hereford; then aged five and a half. As the Devereux royal descent was ultimately to be made a pretext for accusing him of aspirations to the throne of Queen Elizabeth, we should notice that in a French MS Treatise on possible aspirants to the Crown of England, drawn up on the 2nd of January, 1571, next after "*Le Duc de Norffolk*" comes "*Henry Devereux, Vicomte de Herefort quelera droict a la Royauté par sa mere Cecille fille de Guille(m) Burgcher Comte D'Essex.*"

Hereford's name was Walter and not Henry, and Lady Cecily Bouchier was his great-grandmother not mother. But that the French genealogist recognised him as representative of the Bouchier Earls of Essex, *even prior to Queen Elizabeth calling that Earldom out of abeyance*, is one of many indications how the pedigrees of the great houses were studied abroad.¹

It is unlikely that Hereford's son then heard of his father being on the list of candidates "*pour le tiltre en la Couronne d'Angleterre.*" But that he was brought up to be aware of the responsibility of his position as the Queen's near "kinsman by many alliances," is shown through a letter subsequently addressed to him when he was ten years old, presenting him with his pedigree in "well digested Latin verses," not to "puffe" him up with pride but to fortify him for his duties and obligations.²

Children matured early in Elizabethan England; but particularly those of high rank were trained with "noble severitie," that their education should fit them to serve their country; their study of languages, history and cartography all being to that end. Their "martiall exercises," beginning in the nursery, were less for "sport" than as part of the same preparation.

Nor was the education of the "simple" at the Grammar Schools of Royal foundation fundamentally different from that of the "noble" and "gentle." By Statute Law, the practice of archery remained obligatory after artillery had made considerable progress. Music was an accomplishment of boys at Christ's Hospital hardly less than of prospective courtiers. And even the section of the community

¹ Unpublished Royal MS. 16. E. XXXVI. "*Un Catalogue des pretendants a la Couronne apres la roynne d'Angleterre . . . 1571.*" ff. 71^b-72:—"*Le Vicomte de Herefort: Quartment, Henry Deureux, Vicomte de Herefort quelera droict a la Royaute par sa mere Cecille fille de Guille Burgcher Comte d'Essex filz de Henry Burgcher et d'Elizabeth, fille de Richard de Canbridge, second filz d'Edmond de Langlay, cinq^e filz du Roy Edouard le tierce. Icelluy Richard de Canbridge epousa Anne Mortemer fille de Roger de Mortemer, filz d'Edmond Comte de Marshe et d'Ulnester et de Philippine fille de Lionel Duc de Clarence, trois^e filz du Roy Edouard le tierce. Aumoyen du mariage desquelz Richard et d'Anne, reingourent les principales factions entre les Maisons de Lancaster (dont Blanche femme de Jehan de Gant estoit yssue) et d'York (dont Richard de Canbridge estoit venu) pour le tiltre en la couronne d'Angleterre.*"

² Illuminated MS now at Hampton Court, Leominster. II. 2. 4.

which could neither read nor write could learn verses by heart, sing, dance, and wrestle.

England was still "merrie England." Great houses such as Kenilworth were centres of "Liberalitie and bountie." To give, to be courteous, to "comfort the distressed," were lessons learnt early. For although the Nobility had no longer so much wealth and power as under the Plantagenets, yet their feelings to their kinsfolk, dependents, servants, and tenants were still patriarchal; and the mediaeval custom yet prevailed of sending gentlemen's sons to be pages in noblemen's households.

Each territorial magnate still kept as his "servants" not only the retainers who were delighted to wear his badge (which meant being aided by his countenance and protection), but many of his impecunious relations could also find occupation under his roof. The word "servant" had not lost its dignity. To "serve" Queen, country, or some chosen master, or all three simultaneously, was a privilege; and when a peer spoke of his "servants" this term covered many conditions, from his Master of the Horse who might be an intimate friend and near relation, down to the humblest menial. Each was part of an organic whole, each fitting into the structure of England.

Foreigners visiting England often commented upon the flourishing state of agriculture, the cheerfulness and prosperity of the people, and the popularity of the nobles. Even the climate was praised, as "most temperate at all times," the air "never heavy; consequently maladies are scarcer and less physic is used there than anywhere else."

"The soil is fruitful and abounds with cattle, which inclines the inhabitants rather to feeding than ploughing, so that near a third part of the land is left uncultivated, for grazing. . . .

"There are many hills without one tree, or any spring, which produce a very short and tender grass, and supply plenty of food to sheep. Upon those wander numerous flocks, extremely white; and whether from the temperature of the air, or goodness of the earth, bearing softer and finer fleeces than those of any other country."¹

The energy and cheerfulness of the peasants were notable:

"As we were returning to an inn, we happened to meet some country people celebrating their Harvest-home; their last load of corn they crown with flowers, having besides an image richly dressed, by which perhaps they would signify Ceres. This they keep moving about, while men and women, men and maid servants, riding through the streets in the cart, shout as loud as they can till they arrive at the barn. The farmers here do not bind up their corn in sheaves, as they do with us, but directly, as they have reaped or mowed it, put it into carts, and convey it into their barns."²

"With fair Ceres, Queen of Grain,
The reaped fields we roam,
Each country peasant, nymph and swain
Singing their Harvest home."³

As Elizabethan poetry abounds in descriptions of the Arcadian beauties of the

¹ This is the testimony of Paul Hentzner: and though his visit was not till 1598, his description seems to have been even more applicable earlier in the reign. By '98 one of the chief noblemen was perturbed about the "poore husbandmen" and recent "hard years."

² "Hentzner Itinerarium," 1598. "*A Journey into England by Paul Hentzner, in the year MDXCVIII*. Strawberry Hill Press, 1757. (220 copies only). pp. 86 and 79.

³ Thomas Heywood. "*The Silver Age*," n.d.

country, and the magnificence of the Court, both are now regarded as "conventional"; but that the rhymesters were reflecting actual life appears from testimonies of many a traveller in our "flourishing Ilande":

"... the neate cleanelines, the exquisite finesse, the pleasante and delightfull furniture in every poynt for household, wonderfully rejoyced mee," says a visitor from Zeeland: "their chambers and parlours strewed over with sweete herbes refresched mee; their nose-gays finely entermingled wyth sundry sortes of fragraunte flowres in their bedchambers, ... with comfortable smell cheered mee ... And this I do think to be the cause that Englishmen lvyng by such holesome and exquisite meate, and in so holesome and healthfull ayre be so freshe and cleane coloured: their faces, eyes and countenance caryng with it ... a portly grace and comelyenes, geveth out tokens of an honest mind. ..."

"At their tables although they be very sumptuous, and love to have good fare, yet neyther use they to overcharge them selves with excesse of dryncke, neyther thereto greatly provoke and urge others, but suffer every man to drinke in such measure as best pleaseth hymself ..."

The writer of this was a Dutch physician of Zieriksee; and if we contrast "*Ulenpiegel*" and other such descriptions of the customs of his native country, we will understand that English moderation in drinking would naturally seem to him remarkable. His impressions of our country first appeared in Latin in 1561, at Antwerp, and were translated into English by Thomas Newton, a protégé of the Devereux Earls of Essex.¹

The doctor, an "admirable sweet schollar, a worthy ornament of Learning," was delighted also with "incredible curtesie and frendlines in speache and affability used in this famous realme." English hospitality, he declared, "doth surmount and carye away the pricke and price of al others."

"As touching theyr populous ... cities, their mysteres and art of weaving and clothmaking, their skilfulnes in shooting, it is needlesse here to discourse; seeing the multitude of marchaunts exercising the traffique and arte of merchaundize among them, and ambassadours also sent thither from forreign Prynces, are able abundantly to testifye that nothing needful and expedient for mans use and commodity lacketh in that most noble Ilande."²

From the experience of the Dutchman we pass now to that of one of the "ambassadours" of "forreign Prynces." Queen Elizabeth's Court was always "marveillously magnificent," but especially when she welcomed some envoy from one of the other Sovereigns. During the interval between the Duke of Norfolk's condemnation in January, and his execution in June, the chief diplomatic event had been the negotiation by Smith and Walsingham of the treaty with France: and accordingly in the summer of 1572 Her Majesty was visited by the French Ambassador Extraordinary, Francis, Duke of Montmorency, Hereditary Grand Constable of France and Lord of Chantilly, who arrived with a large train of courtiers and attendants, including his young nephew Henry, Vicomte de

¹ *Levini Lemnii, medici Zouziae, de habitu et constitutione corporis*, etc., etc. Translated as "*The Touchstone of Complexions. Generally applicable, expedient and profitable for all such as be desirous and careful of their bodily health. ... Fyrst wrytten in Latine by Levine Lemnie, and now Englished by Thomas Newton.*" Dedic: to Sir Wm. Brooke, Knight, Baron of Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports: dated from "Butley in Chesshyre, 22nd Sept. 1576." Printed (B.L.) London 1581. Cit as "Notes on England 1560" in William Brenchley Rye's "*England as seen by Foreigners in the days of Elizabeth.*" etc., etc. 1865.

² Coryat's "*Crudities*," 1611, p. 649.

³ "*The Touchstone*," etc. f. 47.

Turenne.¹ A letter from the Duke to Lord Leicester, now at Longleat, is so impaired by time as to be almost illegible;² but Turenne long afterwards, writing for his eldest son a terse record of his experiences of Courts and Camps, left a brief but adequate tribute to the "great Queen" Elizabeth and the entertainments given by her in her "*belle et florissante ville de Londres*."³

It was not only Montmorency whose instalment at Windsor as a Knight of the Garter we should vicariously witness: Among those who received a similar honour at the same time, having been elected on St. George's Day, were Essex and Burghley, with two other English peers.⁴

"On Wednesday the xvij day of June . . . the feast of St. George was honourably kept in the Castle of Windesore, Robert Earle of Leycester being Lieutenant at the same feast; assisted with theise K(nigh)ts of the Order: Frances Earle of Bedford, Sr Henry Sidney, William Earle of Worcester and Henry Earle of Huntingdon, who on Tuesday the day before brought" to be installed "Frances Duke of Montmorency, Walter Earle of Essex, William Lord Burghley, Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton and Edward Lord Chandos."⁵

There follows a description of Leicester riding in "a chariot of the Queenes," with Montmorency on his right, and "all the other Knights on horseback well attended," making their entry into Windsor Castle "about two of the Clock." At five, Leicester and the Knights went to the Chapel in the robes of the Order; two of the Knights escorting each one of those newly elected, leading them to the stalls where each had his banner displayed. "The Earle of Essex was brought to his stall between the Earl of Worcester and the Earle of Huntingdon," and Burghley between the Earl of Bedford and Sir Henry Sidney. Their robes were put on, and the oath administered, each garment being symbolic. They then attended evensong, after which they rode back to the Castle to supper.

The next day, Wednesday, they attended morning prayer in St. George's Chapel; and then took horse to the Castle to dine. A banquet was given in honour of Montmorency; whereat the Heralds demanded "*Largesse*" from the "*très noble et puissant Seigneurs*" including the new Knights of the Garter who gave "at their pleasure" to the poor.

To be made a Knight of the Garter then meant to wear the George every day, even on a journey or in time of illness, as a perpetual reminder of the

¹ In Lord Burghley's Chronology, *State Papers*, ed. Murdin, p. 773, in June 1572, the brief note is that "Charles the French Kyng, the 12th Year of his Reign, at Pariss ratified the Treaty concluded at Bloyss 19 April last, and delyvered the same to Sir Thomas Smyth and to Mr. Francis Walsyngham then Ambassador for the Queen's Majesty. D(uke of) Montmorency came into England to confirm the sayd Treaty."

The visit of "Francis Duke of Montmorencie chiefe Marshall of France" is also commemorated in Stow's "*Annals of England*," p. 172 (B.M. No. 2072. Row G.).

² Unpublished Dudley MSS. Vol. II. f. 7.

³ "*Les Memoires de Henry de La Tour d'Avvergne, souverain Duc de Bouillon. Adressez a son fils Le Prince de Sedan. A Paris, . . . Chez René Gvichard. . . . M.DC.LXVI. Avec Priuelege du Roy.*"

⁴ The occasion was commemorated by the Court painter, Mark Gheerardts the elder; who denoted each personage's rank and race by armorial insignia over his head: the surest way of identification in days when even those who could not read would never have confused one nobleman's coat of arms with another. See reproduction.

⁵ Unpublished S.P. Dom: Eliz: LXXXVIII. 20.

obligations of Chivalry: for the Order in 1572 was still scarcely less of a living institution than in the time of its first founder King Edward III; despite the innovation of admitting to a military knighthood a few civilians.¹

Owing to the presence of the French Ambassador, the festivities in June were especially sumptuous; but at all times the Elizabethans prided themselves on their "*combats for Triumph, Honor, and Love of Ladies*," and did not doubt that by the "publique exercises of Armes on horseback since her Majesties reign," it would be recognised that her Court "is equall or exceeding the Courts of other Kings her noble predecessors."²

Long remembered was "the notable Turniament on horseback" at Westminster, "the more rare and memorable as it was performed in the night":

"It pleased her Majestie (according to her princely custome in the intertainment of noble strangers)" to go in to supper with the Duke of Montmorency, "at that time come thither to receive the honourable order of the Garter" at Windsor Castle.³ "This magnificent supper being ended, it pleased her Highness (the weather being warme) to walke out of her chamber into the open Tarrace, whither also (awayting on her) went the sayd Duke, and all others of the French Nobilitie, with the Ambassadors, Lords and Ladies of the Court. At her Maiesties comming to the North side of the Tarrace, there were prepared and set rich chaires, cushions and carpets. In which place it pleased her to stay, entertyning most graciously the said Duke, and other Noble strangers.

"Next unto them were placed the Ladies, Lords, Counsellors, and other persons of reputation, according to their degrees and convenience of the rooms. So as the said Tarrace was on all sides beset with Lords, Ladies, and persons of qualitie, sumptuously apparelled and richly furnished, and among them (both above and vnder) stood many of the Guard in their rich coates, holding an infinite number of torches; and so in the preaching place: by which meane, those that beheld the Tarrace in this sort furnished, deemed it rather a theater celestiall, than a pallace of earthly building.

¹ According to Ashmolean MS, 1116, the twenty-six stalls of the Garter were as follows: (V meaning vacant stall: and x absent.)

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| "The Sovraigne | The Emperor |
| The Frenche King | The King of Spayne |
| The Duke of Savoy | V |
| xThe Earl of Arroundel | xThe Duke of Holst(ein) |
| V | The Erle of Derby |
| V | V |
| The Lord Clinton | The Erle of Sussex, Lieut of the Chappell |
| The Lord Howard of Effingham | V |
| xThe Erle of Shrewsbury | The Erle of Leicester |
| xThe Viscount Montagu | The Lord of Hounsdon |
| The Erle of Warwick | Sir Henry Sydney |
| The Erle of Bedford | The Erle of Huntingdon |
| The Erle of Worsester | V |

"An: 1572 were chosen at Greenwich, the Queenes Maty there being, these noblemen to be of the noble order of the Garter Mons (le Duc de) Montmerancy, the Erle of Essex, the Lord of Burghley, the L. Gray of Wilton, the Lord Chandoyes." (They may have been "chosen" at Greenwich, but they had to be installed at Windsor. The five peers "chosen" filled the five vacant stalls. The Duke of Norfolk and Thomas Earl of Northumberland had each forfeited the Garter for High Treason).

² "*The Booke of Honor and Armes*." London, 1590. (B.M. 9. 1064.) p. 99.

³ No date in the description of the tournament; but this statement enables us to fix it; for François, Duc de Montmorency landed 9th of June, 1572, was installed K.G. as supra, and left our country on the 29th. (Stow's *Annales*, p. 672. B.M. 2072. Row G.) Some of our reference books, for instance "*Athenae Cantabrigienses*," (article, Edward Manners Earl of Rutland), suggest 1580 as a likely date for the torchlight tournament. But this is impossible, because Rutland's opponent was Walter Earl of Essex who by 1580 had been dead four years: and his son in 1580 was too young to take part in State tournaments.

"The place with this Royall presence replenished, suddenly entred Walter Earle of Essex, and with him twelve Gentlemen armed at all peeces, and well mounted. The Earle and his horse was furnished with white cloth of silver, and the rest in white satin; who after reverence done to her Majesty, marched to the East side of the Court, and there in troope, stood firme.

"Forthwith entred Edward Earle of Rutland, with a like number, in like sort armed, and appalled all in blew: and having presented his reverence, stayed on the West end. Before either of these bands, one Chariot was drawn, and therein a faire Damsell, conducted by an armed Knight, who pronounced certaine speeches in the French tongue, vnto her Maiestie.

"These ceremonies passed, the Queene commanded the armed men to fall unto fight: which was performed with great courage, and commendation; chiefly in the Earle of Essex, a noble personage, valorous in armes, and all other wayes of great vertue.

"Truely this action was marvellously magnificent, and appeared a sight exceeding glorious to those that were below looking upward to the Tarrace, where her Maiestie, the Lords and Ladies stood, so pompously appalled, jewelled and furnished, as hardly can be seen the like in any Christian Court, as my selfe saw, and other the Actors (at occasions staying from fight) with great admiration did behold and thinke."¹

To impress the French Ambassador Extraordinary was the more desirable as in France there existed considerable sympathy for the captive Catholic Queen Mary. The recent tragedy of the Duke of Norfolk had led the French resident Ambassador to suspect others of the nobility to be secretly embroiled in the Duke's attempt.

The prayer of the Duke that as he was the first nobleman to be beheaded in Queen Elizabeth's reign, so he should be the last, may have embodied some hope for the Queen's mercy upon Thomas, 7th Earl of Northumberland.

Tracked down and betrayed in Scotland, Northumberland, whose hereditary popularity in his own part of England had made his rebellion the more formidable, was at last unable any longer to evade the penalty. He was little known to the London populace; his power and influence had been in the North. Accordingly York was selected for the final scene of his tragedy; and there, on the 24th of August 1572, he was beheaded; meeting death with the calm courage proper to the representative of a long line of warriors.

In 1563 Queen Elizabeth had made him a Knight of the Garter, and had confirmed him in the office he held under her sister, namely Marshal of the Army of the North and Warden of the Scottish Marches. That the influence of his

¹(Sir William Segar) "*The Booke of Honor and Armes. Wherein is discoursed the causes of Quarrel, and the nature of Iniuries, with their repulses. Also the meanes of satisfaction and pacification, with diuers other things necessarie to be knowne of all Gentlemen and others professing Armes and Honor . . .*" At London . . . Richard Ihones . . . 1590." Quarto, 4 books, 104 pp. with a fifth book of 75 pp. Issued anonymously. Dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton by the stationer Richard Jones. Sir E. Brydges (in "*Censura*") thought the work was by Jones because he wrote the dedication; but Anstis, "*Register of the Garter*," ascribes it to Sir William Segar (Norroy Herald); and it reappeared twelve years later, as a folio of 256 pp. as "*Honor Military, and Civill, contained in foure Bookes: viz:*

1. *Justice, and Jurisdiction Military.*
2. *Knighthood in generall, and particular.*
3. *Combats for life and Triumph.*
4. *Precedence of great Estates, and others.*

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Queene's most Excellent Maiestie. Anno Dom. 1602." (B.M. No. 9917. i.5.) Despite the difference in the title pages, the descriptions of the tournaments of 1572 and 1580 are the same in both. Both books contain pictures of jousting.

neighbour Charles Neville, Earl of Westmorland,—and the recurrence of his own father's feeling for the Catholic Church,—led him to the scaffold, must have seemed harder to him, not only in that he had much to lose of great possessions but also that he left behind him a heartbroken wife, who had never faltered in an absolute unquestioning "obedience" to him, as her brave and pathetic letters show.¹

In the list of Catholic martyrs compiled in Rome in 1594, Northumberland figures prominently; "*lascia loro esempio di grandissima costanza e fortezza d'animo lietamente morendo per Cristo.*"

Such is his epitaph in "*L'Historia Ecclesiastica della Rivoluzion d'Inghilterra,*" wherein all the offences of the heretic dynasty from the plundering of the shrines by "*Arriago Ottavo*" to the penal laws of "*Lizabetta*" are brought together by Father Girolamo Pollini, under the auspices of Pope Clement VIII: the whole being dedicated to Cardinal Allan, ("*il Signor Guglielmo Cardinale Allano*").²

But Northumberland was not beheaded solely for being a Catholic. It was because he who had accepted office under Queen Elizabeth led an army against her, for the purpose of putting Queen Mary of Scots on the throne with the help of Spain. This brought him under the Statute law, the same for Protestants as Catholics, that to levy war against the Sovereign or to be adherent to the Sovereign's enemies was a capital offence.

This is not to deny the "*fortezza d'animo*" with which he faced the shattering of all his hopes. But it is the explanation of what Queen Elizabeth meant when repeatedly asserting that, unlike her sister Mary who burnt heretics for heresy alone, she had never executed any persons merely for their faith, but for the acts of high treason to which some of her Catholic subjects were impelled by their zeal for the Pope.

The issues in the Northern Rising were not only whether the Church service should be in Latin or English, and Rome be accepted or rejected; it was also a question whether a native-born Queen or the nominee of Spain should be mistress over the English nation.

That Northumberland was lured to his ruin by hopes of Spanish aid, without which he was too practical to have risen in arms, is a statement absent from the discreet "*Historia*" compiled by Pollini. But whichever way we take the

¹ Lady Anne Somerset, 3rd daughter of Henry 2nd Earl of Worcester, by Elizabeth daughter of Sir Anthony Browne Viscount Montague, K.G. Their only son Thomas, Lord Percy, died an infant, and was buried at Leconfield in Yorkshire, in 1560. For her letters to her Lord see *State Papers*, ed. Murdin. 1759. A picturesque but not reliable account of the rising is given in Gerald Brenan's "*History of the House of Percy*," (1902) Vol. I. pp. 266-363.

² It is in vain to seek Northumberland in the Index to "*L'Historia*" either under his title or surname. In continental fashion he is set under T for his Christian name: *Tommaso Perceo Conte de Nortumberland*. Chapter XVII, Book IV, pp. 478-487 gives his story from the standpoint of those who had prayed for his success.

Issued "*Con Privilegio In Roma, Presso Guglielmo Facciotti. MDXCIV. Con Licenza de' superiori.*" (Quarto, pp. 766; and prelims and index).

Northern Rising, from the standpoint of the Vatican as expressed in 1594 to Cardinal Allan, or through the eyes of the Earl of Sussex, Queen Elizabeth's victorious General, the contest was one in which the destiny of England hung in the balance.

Had Queen Elizabeth not possessed well-led ably disciplined forces, there would have been no such torchlight tournament as in June 1572; or the tournament would have been in honour of the Queen of Scots.

A few days after Burghley's installation as Knight of the Garter a warning letter was sent to him from an Englishman at the Court of Spain:

" . . . I heard it by one of the Duchess of Feria's servants that *the King would maintain wars both in Ireland and Scotland against the Queen*; and this I know to be true, and all the Spirituality of Spain and the Religious Houses do offer to give unto the King two millions, to be levied of their Lands and plate towards the wars against Flanders and England, and the Archbishoprick of Toledo doth give four hundredth thousand of ducats alone for that war: *so that if they may have their will, poor England shall be overcome.*

Here is many practices in hand, and much evil talk, both against the Queen's Grace and your Lordship and others that I know not. Here hath been of late sent hither such shameful and lewd books, written against the Queen her self, and others, as I am ashamed to hear of it; they be sent hither out of Flanders and out of England. One of the Duchess's servants did show one of them.

" *They do think here that Englishmen be not able to abide in the Field above two months, and we be no men of war, nor have no knowledge of war, and that the Queen is very poor, and very covetous, and very evil beloved . . . here they do think that the Queen is loth to spend money about any thing. . . .*"¹

Memories at the Court of Spain must have been imperfect if it was forgotten how King Philip fifteen years before had not disdained to make use of English troops at St. Quentin.

Nevertheless in the summer of 1572 the pride of Spain in the victory of Don John of Austria, at Lepanto the previous autumn, tended to encourage a belief in Spanish arms as destined to a universal triumph. That the Spanish notion of Englishmen at that time not being able to fight gained wide currency we infer from the surprise of many a Spaniard on soon discovering the contrary. The officer who commanded the troops sent by Queen Elizabeth to the aid of the Dutch rebels, was one who had considerable experience in the Irish wars, where he had been both ruthless and successful; Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Only a few weeks after the allegation in Spain that the English were no soldiers, the news from the Low Countries on the 16th July was how Sir Humphrey with 1,200 English, 100 Walloons, and some French troops,² "embarking himself from Flushing, hath taken Sluys . . . Bruges is likewise taken by him. . . Sir H[umphrey] hath also taken 25 pieces of brass, whereof 4 [are] cannons, 12 demi culverins the rest sacres." Meanwhile the Prince of Orange was in Guelderland with "7000 Horse and 13,000 Footmen"; and the Duke of Alba's forces "expected from

¹ Dated 24 June 1572. Orig: at Hatfield. Directed "To the Most Honorable the Lord Burlic Secretari to the Queenes Grace of her Graces Previ Council." Signed "a true Englishman ever to my Queen and Country . . ." Murdin *State Papers*, 1759, pp. 221-222 in old spelling. Not noticed hitherto by later writers on the relations of England and Spain.

² Number not stated.

Germany" had been "diverted by the Admiral of France" so that they could not join him."¹

Gilbert's occupation of Flushing and his capture of Sluys should be borne in mind; Sluys being held from 1572 by England's Dutch allies until 1587, when it was won by the Prince of Parma.

The prowess of our troops in 1572 is to-day treated as if irregular and reprehensible. But as the Spanish Ambassador had been expelled in 1571 by Queen Elizabeth, for conspiring with her enemies, there was no essential impropriety in her permitting English soldiers to take the field against King Philip.²

On 15th July it had been "covenanted" that 200 French and 200 English should remain in the town of Flushing "for the guard and defence thereof." If further aid be needed the help from the two nations was still to be equal in numbers. It was guaranteed "that they will not allow either one of the said French and English nations to be master of the said town, but will preserve it for itself . . . under the authority of His Excellency . . ."³

Though Sir Humphrey Gilbert signed this arrangement with the Governor and Burgomasters of Flushing, within a month he was finding it inconvenient. "From Flushing the 13th of August 1572," he wrote "To the Right Hon. and my very good Lord The Lord Treasurer of England," anticipating, far from joyously, the arrival of more French troops:

" . . . without further order from your Honours⁴ I am determined to leave this town with all the Englishmen and to serve in other places, for *they practice to use our soldiers very evil and to banish those of the townsmen that are our friends, to, in effect, starve the English soldiers . . . only to cause mutinies*, to have the soldiers to run away. . . . Therefore my most humble suite is that I may know without delay what her Majesty will do. . . ."

He suggests that he should stir up strife between the French and the townfolk, and take the townfolk's part; and asks for a galley "with a little frigate or two. . ."

Though dissatisfied with the state of Flushing, he reports the Prince of Orange strong, "and our general cause proceedeth most happily, so that there is no fear to be had of the Duke."⁵

"The Englishmen did serve very valiantly on the 9th of this month, and did kill divers Spaniards and made them run away three miles, like peasants, throwing away their armour and weapons," as will be related by "this bearer Mr. Lyster" (highly commended for his courage).⁶

¹ "Occurents from the Low Countries." State Papers Foreign Eliz: Vol. CXXIV. No: 239.

² Particulars in State Papers Foreign, Eliz: Vols CXXIV and CXXV. See CXXIV, 245, "Agreement between Sir H. 'Gylbarte' and the Governor and Burgomaster of Flushing"; 15 July, 1572; lb: 260, "Advertisements from Flanders"; No. 281, Thomas Waye to Lord Burghley; and Nos. 269, 280, 284, 289, 290, Sir H. Gilbert to Lord Burghley.

³ S.P. For: Eliz: CXXIV. 245. Signed by Junius de Jonge, Therosme de Tjeraerts, Jamit de Baerlande, Jacques Taffin, H. Gylbarte, Claude Quillein, Lucius Zughelf.

⁴ The Privy Council.

⁵ Other Dukes are of this or that; "*the Duke*" is always Alba ("*Alua*").

⁶ Probably Christopher Lyster, for whose ultimate fate see III. 3. 11.

" . . . I most humbly thank your Honour for many favours that we find in this town at your Lordship's hand for victuals and many other things. I am your Honour's during my life to honour and serve you, *assuring you that to do any exploit here for the service of Her Majesty I will at all times be ready to take anything in hand with Gideon's faith . . . and therefore I beseech your Honour not to regard my life but the service of her Majesty and Country. . . .*"¹

At Longleat to-day among unpublished MSS which were once the property of Walter Earl of Essex, and afterwards of his son, is a report of some of this fighting in Zeeland.

At five in the morning on the 8th of August, "betweene the discharging of the watch and the settinge of the warde" a force of 600 Spaniards and Walloons intended to take by surprise a small camp of English not far from Flushing. But "by the provydenche of God, a boure of the Country goinge from the Campe to fflushing w^t his wagon for victuallers" descried the enemy afar. He promptly mounted one of his own horses, rode "with spede" to the English, and gave warning.

"By means of this alarm every man put him self in a readiness. . . . And whereas the Enemy had placed certain of their shot upon a sandhill hanging over the Town, most fit for their purpose, they were beaten from thence per force: and they having won a trench from our men the same was recovered again quickly."

But "The Skirmysh was so hot upon a sudden that our men at the first did somewhat retier: And had not the valiaunt myndes of the Gent(lemen) caused them p(er)force" to charge the foe "afresh, it had been worse with us. But this charge was so valiantly executed that the Spaniards turned their faces and went their way, our men following them till they came within two miles of Middleborough."

The Spaniards had intended to hang the English, and had "made sure accompt thereof, as appeared by divers that had their hose full of halters: whome our men took and hanged with their own halters."

The laconic narrator adds a summary of "newes wryten from fflushinge the 13 of August, 1572." "The Town of Antwerpe prepares ships and men to set upon Flushing," but the garrison is "nothing in fear." "Certain horsemen" of the Prince of Orange had overthrown "6 ensignes of 'Jermaynes' whereof 200 ar taken prisoners." "The States of Guelderland had come to an agreement with the Prince of Orange. Reinforcements were being prepared in France; 15 Companies of Foot and 4000 Horse, "which in haste are coming, and L(ett)ers thereof written by the Admiral of France to some in Flushing."

"Amsterdam is with the Prince of Orange. . . . The Towne of Nericksen is taken by Captain Worston . . . ;" and though the French and English Camp "upon Saturday last at a place caled Zootland" was "so furiously assailed by the Spaniards that they drove our men above 200 foote from their trenches," yet "the English gent(lemen) as men of great courage gave a recharge of the Spaniards with such a fury that glad was he that could run fast away. . . ."²

Although the English Army had not yet come under the excellent "*Laws and Ordinances*" which in 1585-6 were drawn up and published by the Earl of Leicester, —and under Robert Earl of Essex were so well maintained that in some respects we shall find our forces better in hand in 1596 at Cadiz than they were in the early

¹ Holog: S.P. For: Eliz: CXXIV. No. 269. He subsequently emphasised that "*there is nothing to be attempted by us without being masters of the Sea*": 3 Sep: 1572. Ib: CXXV. 284, a long letter.

² Spelling modernised from Unpublished Longleat Devereux MSS. Vol. II. ff. 7-9.

19th century during the Peninsular War,—yet even in 1572, when they had neither great experience nor perfect discipline, Englishmen taken by surprise seldom accepted defeat. When at a later date the Venetian Ambassador made his celebrated reference to the English as never beaten, because, no matter how stoutly repelled, they would return and fight again, “as long as the breath of life is in them,”—this was not a suddenly acquired habit. We find the same on a small scale even in a series of forgotten operations which the officers themselves did not dignify with the name of battles but only “Skirmishes”: which nevertheless were a forecast of what was to come.

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During March 1572, the Marquess of Winchester, (William Paulet), Lord High Treasurer of England, died in his bed at the age of 87. Lord Burghley was soon promoted to the vacant office; and on the 22nd of July the Queen visited him at Theobalds. A month after welcoming her in the house and garden he had perfected, one of his brief notes shows continued progress towards the French match:

22 August: “Answer given to La Motte at Kenilworth that came to move Mariadg for Francis D of Alanson (the youngest Brother of the French King) that there were two Difficulties, one for Difference of Religion, the other for ther Ages; but yet that the Articles moved in his Brother the D of Anjou’s Case might serve for hym.”¹

The question of “Difference of Religion,” under discussion at Kenilworth, was about to be “discussed” across the Channel: in circumstances which astounded no men more than the English Ambassadors Walsingham and Smith; who had believed an era of peace about to ensue from the projected match between Marguerite of Valois and King Henry of Navarre.

¹ *State Papers.* ed. Murdin. p. 773.

WILLIAM PAULET, 1st EARL OF WILTSHIRE,

1st MARQUESS OF WINCHESTER, K.G., P.C., Lord High Treasurer to Edward VI:

to "Jane the Queen"; to Queen Mary;
and to Queen Elizabeth from her accession in 1558 till his death in 1571-2.

From a portrait on panel in the National Portrait Gallery. (Undated.)

This Marquess is said by Camden to have been 97 at his death; and "*The Herald and Genealogist*," Vol. VII, p. 179, when invoking Sir R. Baker's "*Chronicle*" as asserting him to have "lived more than 103 years," adds that "his age is more correctly stated by Camden." But accuracy was not Camden's strong point, and Thomas Milles is more likely to have been right when, in "*The Catalogue of Honor*," 1610, p. 969, he gives "1483 the first yeare of the reign of Richard the third" as the date of birth of William Paulet, subsequently Marquess of Winchester; who therefore when he died as Basing House, Hants, "the tenth March 1571" (2) was "in the 87 yeare of his age."

Created Lord Saint John of Basing by Henry VIII, and elected K.G. (an Order of Chivalry to which his character was entirely unsuited), he had been Treasurer of the Household to that King, and Master of the Household to Edward VI; President of the Privy Council; and by King Edward he was created Earl of Wiltshire, 19 Jan. 1550-51; Marquess of Winchester, 11 Oct. 1551. He countenanced the Duke of Northumberland's plan for making Lady Jane Grey Queen; but quickly went over to Queen Mary.

Whoever fell and was executed, he always propitiated the winners. Asked in his old age "how he carried himselfe in those tumultuous and tempestuous times, wherein so many of all sorts miscarried, he would answer 'by being a Willow, and not an Oake.'" (Milles, p. 969). For outline of his political career see G.E.C.'s "*Complete Peerage*" (1898), Vol. VIII, pp. 171-173. This crafty and time-serving personage is now almost forgotten; and when "Winchester" is mentioned it is of the "Loyal Marquess" that we think, the 5th holder of the title, immortalised by his defence of Basing House which he held for the Crown during a siege lasting from August, 1643, to 16th October, 1645. An incarnation of his own motto "*Aimez loyalté*," the heroic 5th Marquess, who sacrificed his all for the King, was the exact opposite to the founder of his house, who changed religion and principles as often as he thought expedient.

If in the present work the 1st Marquess of Winchester has not figured conspicuously, this is because, despite the high offices he held, and the eventful age through which he lived, he can best be summed up in his own unabashed description of himself (supra). His was not the type of intellect which reforms, defends, or creates. Whether 87 at the time of his death (as Milles states), or 97 (as Camden alleges), he was little loss to Queen or Country; for in July, 1572, a much abler and better man was appointed Lord High Treasurer in his place, Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley.



"THEIR OWN VERTUES AND THE GLORY OF THEIR STOCK: "

REVIVAL OF THE ESSEX EARLDOM: 1572.

THE QUEEN'S CHARTER, "GIVEN VNDER OUR HAND AT OUR
MANNOUR OF GREENWICH,

THE IIII DAY OF MAY: IN THE XIIIIE YEARE OF OUR RAIGNE, 1572."

"Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England. . . . Defendress of the Faith etc. unto all and singular Archbishops, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Viscounts, Bishops, Barons. . . . Greeting.

"Seeing that they whom the Divine providence hath put and placed in a Monarchie and Royall Seat, that they being the Lieutenants of him that heavenly Monarch may well, uprightly, decently and wholesomely govern, ought diligently to looke about and search into all States and degrees of their Empire. . . . And so necessary is the preservation of Orders and degrees of men in great Empires, as that after they once see the Nobilitie of the States and Degrees broken, rent, impaired or shaken, or by Death afflicted or weakened, they ought with all speede to amend, repaire, encrease and augment the same; so that *others, whom both their own vertues and the glory of their stock and auncestors hath ennobled*, being called unto Nobilitie and honour, the glory of Degree and States may for ever be preserved and kept.

"Wherefore we, now seeing . . . our most famous and renowned Cosin Walter Viscount Hereford, Knight of our most Noble order of the Garter¹ Lord Ferrers of Chartley, worthelie and valiantly to have for us behaved himself in that seditious tumult of wicked Traytors and Rebels, raised of most wicked and ungracious men in the North parts of our kingdome: which most great and horrible danger was not unto our kingdome onely but even unto our person also intended: *so that partly by his conduct not only the cruell furie and rage of the Traytors and Rebels was there in that place repressed, but many of the Rebels also were unto our obedience reduced*; and so the State of our Kingdom, before sore troubled, became againe to be well quyeted and pacified: We therefore, *for these causes by him so worthily performed . . . promote him . . . unto the State, Honour and Dignitie of the Earle of Essex*." This honour rightly pertains to him in that he "is descended of the Noble Stocke and Family of the Bouchiers late Earles of Essex, and is by the common Law of our kingdome next Heir vnto Henry Bouchier, late Earle of Essex. . . ." Wherefore he and his heirs male shall henceforth possess and hold "the State, Degree, Dignity, Stile and Honour" of the Bouchier Earls aforesaid. Likewise

"as the height of State and Honour encreaseth, so greater charges and burthens necessarilie encrease also," that he and his heirs "may the better, more seemlie and honourably maintaine and support the aforesaide State of the Earle of Essex and the burthens lying upon him, Wee therefore of our more abundant grace do give and grant for ever, twentie pound of Fee of yearly rent of our great and little Custome and Subsidie within the Port of our City of London. . . ."²

¹ He had been elected in April though not installed till June.

² In extenso, pp. 36-38 "*The Catalogue of Honor whereto is properly prefixed A special Treatise Translated out of Latyne into English. London 1610.*" By Thomas Milles.

The witnesses to the Royal Charter were Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper; Edward Earl of Oxford, Lord High Chamberlain; the Earls of Kent, Worcester, Rutland, Sussex, Huntingdon, Warwick, Hertford, and Leicester; Viscount Bindon, and the Bishops of Salisbury and Rochester; also William Lord Howard of Effingham, "William Lord Burghley our Principal Secretary of the Order aforesaid," Lord Strange, Lord Grey de Wilton, Lords Sands, Windsor, Wharton, Rich, Paget, Darcy of Chiche, North, Chandos, and Delaware, and Sir Francis Knollys, Sir James Crofts, Sir Henry Sidney, Sir William Cardale.

Even as the Bouchier Earls had been heirs to the FitzPiers and De Bohun Earls, and they to the first Anglo-Norman Earls of Essex, the De Mandevilles, so Viscount Hereford first *Devereux* Earl as 18th Earl of Essex was heir to all the foregoing Earls.

The Bouchiers had been a great race of warriors and statesmen. Robert de Bouchier, Baron Bouchier, Lord High Chancellor of England, led his retainers in person in the battle of Crecy. His grandson, Sir William, served at Agincourt, so bravely as to be created "Earl of Ewe" (*Comte d'Eu*) by Henry V. William, "Earl of Ewe," married the King's cousin Lady Anne of Gloucester, grand-daughter of King Edward III; and the son of this marriage, Henry de Bouchier, was the first Bouchier Earl of Essex. When his grandson, another Henry, Earl of Essex, died without heirs male, his nephew, son of his sister Lady Cecily Bouchier, namely Walter Devereux, 1st Viscount Hereford, Chief Justice of South Wales (son and heir of John Devereux, Lord Ferrers of Chartley) was his nearest representative. This Walter's son and heir, Sir Richard Devereux, predeceased his father; and it was in favour of Sir Richard's eldest son Walter, 2nd Viscount Hereford, that the Earldom of the Bouchiers was revived.

The number of peerages by female descent was subsequently remarked by Burghley, who noted that no less than twenty of his contemporaries in the House of Lords sat in right of wives or mothers.¹ In the case of Essex it was a great-grandmother.

The favour shown by the Tudor dynasty to the family of Devereux was in spite of the fact that an earlier Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, K.G., met his death fighting in defence of King Richard III, whose Crown was usurped by Queen Elizabeth's grandfather.²

¹ Hatfield MSS. Cal: III. No. 826. pp. 395-6. "List of Barons jure uxorum," 1½ pp. Endorsed by L^d Burghley. "20 Barons of Parliament that have atteyned their baronnies by their wyves." They are (with details) Burgavenny, Furnivall, Fawconbridge, Cobham Brooke, Cobham Oldcastle, Morley, Welles and Willoughby, Bonvyle and Harrington, Scales, Dacres, Strange, Barnes, Kydwelly, Ferres (i.e. Ferrers). "Sir Walter Devereux in right of Anne, daughter and heir of William Lord Ferrers of Chartley", Beverston, Wenne, South, Tyndale, Folkestone, Mulgrave, Ewas-Harold.

² Lord Ferrers of Chartley (killed at Bosworth, 22nd August, 1485,) was son of Sir Walter Devereux of Bodenham. The Ferrers peerage came into the Devereux family through the Devereux marriage with Anne, sister and heir of the last De Ferrers, Lord Ferrers (descended from the De Ferrers Earls of Derby and Ferrers); and it was her son John Devereux Lord Ferrers, who married Lady Cecily Bouchier, sister of Henry, Earl of Essex, daughter of William Viscount Bouchier by his wife Anne Woodville (daughter of Richard Earl Rivers and sister to the Queen of Edward IV).

TABLE SHOWING DATE AND DURATION OF PARLIAMENTS HELD DURING THE FIRST 24 YEARS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S REIGN:

Though New Year's Day festivities were held at the Court on 1st January, the official year began on 25th March; hence the double dates in the table, the first Parliament beginning in 1558 by Elizabethan reckoning but in 1559 by ours.

In the Table what appear like 7 Parliaments are counted as 4; because the Queen herself so reckoned them.

Other Tables will ensue in later volumes.

A total of 10 Parliaments in a reign of 44½ years,—some sitting only a few weeks, and the longest less than six months,—will bring home to us that it is futile to try to adapt Elizabethan history to a "constitutional" thesis. The power was vested in the Crown.

Daily business of State was done through the Privy Council. Parliament was summoned only when required; and did not sit a day longer than "Her Majesty's Will and Pleasure" would allow.

| REGNAL YEAR | PARLIAMENT CALLED | PARLIAMENT PROROGUED | PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED |
|--------------------|-------------------------|--|-------------------------|
| 1st Eliz. | (1) 25th January 1558-9 | | 8th May 1559 |
| 5th Eliz. | (2) 12th January 1562-3 | 10th April 1563 | |
| 8th & 9th Eliz. | 13th September 1566 | | 2nd January 1566-7 |
| 13th Eliz. | (3) 2nd April 1571 | | 29th May 1571 |
| 14th Eliz. | (4) 8th May 1572 | Adjourned 30th June 1572 | |
| 18th Eliz. | 8th February 1575-6 | 15th March 1575-6 | |
| 23rd Eliz. | 16th January 1580-1 | 18th March 1580-1 (& 19 further prorogations*) | 19th April 1583 |

* D'Ewes: "The Journals of all the Parliaments . . . of Queen Elizabeth," &c. (1682). p. 310.

PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION 9.

“These be no days of dalliance.”

*The coming of age of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford,
Hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain of England, 1571.*

“Edward the seventeenth Earl of Oxford rid into the City, and to his house by London Stone, with eighty gentlemen in a livery of Reading tawny, and chains of gold about their necks, before him ; and one hundred tall yeomen in the like livery to follow him, without chains but all having his cognizance of the Blue Boar embroidered on their left shoulder.”

Stow and Strype's “*Survey of London*,” Book I. Ch: 29. 1570-73.

“These be no days of dalliance.”

*Arthur Golding's Dedication to Edward Earl of Oxford,
of “The Psalmes of David and others” (B.M. 3090. b.b. 20).
20th October, 1571.*

“ . . . if there were any service to be done abroad . . . if there be any setting forth to sea, to which service I bear the most affection, I shall desire to your L(ordship) to give me . . . that favour and credit . . . that I might make one : Which if there be no such intencion, then I shall be most willing to be employed on the sea Coasts, to be in a readiness with my countrymen against any invasion.”

*Edward 17th Earl of Oxford to William Lord Burghley, K.G.
22nd Sep: 1572. (p. 176)*

EDWARD DE VERE, 17th EARL OF OXFORD,

From the original at Welbeck Abbey in possession of The Duke of Portland, K.G.

Canvas, 42 x 25 inches. Contemporary inscription, "Ætatis suae 25, 1575."

A second inscription added retrospectively: "Edward Vere, 17th Earle of Oxford, Lord high Chamberlaine of Engld. Married 1st Ann, daughter to Wm. Cecil Lord Burghley 2ndly Eliz., daughter to Thos. Trentham of Roucester in Com: Stafford and died 24th of June, 1604."

(Photograph: Henry Dixon & Son).

Possibly the portrait to which the English Ambassador in Paris, Valentine Dale, alludes in 1575 as having been painted by a Flemish artist: "It seemeth to us he has done my Lord of Oxford well." (State Papers, Foreign, Vol. 131). Horace Walpole, "*Anecdotes of Painting*," Vol. I (1762), refers to Cornelius Ketel as having painted the Earl of Oxford between 1573 and 1578.

Hazel eyes, brown hair; pale mauve doublet, with horizontal lines of narrow gold braid. Black cloak; a black hat, with double rows of gold buttons and a small brown and white feather.

Recorded as belonging to Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford who died in 1741, this picture is entered in the Welbeck Abbey Catalogue compiled in 1747.

Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, married Lady Henrietta Holles, daughter of John, Duke of Newcastle; and they were the parents of Margaret, Duchess of Portland.

John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, was also 4th Earl of Clare; his grandfather, the 2nd Earl of Clare, had married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of the 17th De Vere Earl's cousin Sir Horace Vere, created Lord Vere of Tilbury. Hence it is natural that there should be De Vere portraits in the Holles collection.

This picture has been several times reproduced; but on a small scale, and less clearly than now.

An unpublished portrait of Lord Oxford in middle age is forthcoming in the present work.



Edwards Vere

1573

Edward Vere^{17th} Earle of Oxford
Lord high Chamberlaine of Eng
Married 1st Ann Daugh^t of
W^m Cecil Lord Burghley
the Daughter to Tho^s Tren^{ch}
of Rouerster in Com. Suff^y
and died 24th of June 1601

PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION 9.

“These be no days of dalliance.”

The coming-of-age of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, 1571.

ON the “first, second and third of May,” 1571, a “solemne Just at the tilt, turney and barrier,” was “holden at Westminster before the Queenes majestie.” All the combatants “did very valiantly, but the chiefe honour was given to the Earle of Oxford.”¹

This was Edward de Vere, 17th Earl, hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain of England, who had just come of age on the 12th of April. Only son of John de Vere, 16th Earl, by his second wife Margery Golding, Oxford had succeeded his father at the age of twelve, and as a ward of the Crown he had been brought up by Sir William Cecil, Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries (Lord Burghley from February 1570-71).²

A table still in existence shows in what occupation or study the boy was to spend every hour of the day.³

¹ Stowe, *Annales* (ed: 1615).

² The De Vere Earls of Oxford had been for many centuries hereditary Lords Great Chamberlain. During the minority of Edward the 17th Earl, a charge of illegitimacy was brought against him by Edward, 3rd Baron Windsor, who had married Lady Katherine de Vere, child of the 16th Earl by his first wife Lady Dorothy Neville (sister of the fourth Earl of Westmorland).

The illegitimacy charge was accompanied by a petition from Lord Windsor that he in right of his wife should receive the Lord Great Chamberlainship, he alleging that the young Earl of Oxford's mother—Margery Golding—had not been lawfully married. Oxford was defended by his guardian, Sir William Cecil. But the charge was revived against the 20th Earl in Charles II's day, by the 7th Baron Windsor.

No argument on the subject is now necessary; for in September 1927, the parish register of the church of “Belchamp St. Paule in the Countie of Essex” was found to have recorded, “*Ad dni 1548*”, “*The weddinge of my lorde Jhon De Vere Earle of Oxenforde And Margery daughter of Jhon Gouldinge Esquier the firste of August.*” Discovered by The Rev. R. Flynn, Vicar of Belchamp St. Paul's; and published in facsimile, 1927, by Colonel B. R. Ward, C.M.G. for the Shakespeare Fellowship.

³ S.P.D. E. XXVI. 50.

"Morning. First to rise in such time as he may be ready to his exercises by 7 o'clock.

| | | |
|------|---------|---------------------|
| 7 | — 7.30 | Dancing |
| 7.30 | — 8 | Breakfast |
| 8 | — 9 | French |
| 9 | — 10 | Latin |
| 10 | — 10.30 | Writing and Drawing |

Then Common Prayers, and so to dinner. Or if Frith¹ cannot come by 7, then

| | | |
|------|--------|----------------------|
| 7 | — 8 | French |
| 8 | — 8.30 | Breakfast |
| 8.30 | — 9.30 | Latin |
| 9.30 | — 10 | Exercises of his pen |

From that time to dinner, Common Prayers, Dancing.

Afternoon.

| | | |
|---|--------|----------------------|
| 1 | — 2 | Cosmography |
| 2 | — 3 | Latin |
| 3 | — 4 | French |
| 4 | — 4.30 | Exercises of his pen |

Then Common Prayers, and so to supper.

Holy Days. To read before dinner both the Epistle and Gospel in his own tongue, and in the other tongue after dinner. All the rest of the day to be spent in riding, shooting, dancing, walking, and other commendable exercises, saving the time for prayer."
"Any hard place" in the Epistles or Gospels is to be explained to him "by commentary."

French and Latin are the only languages specified. But Sir Humphrey Gilbert's educational project for the sons of the nobility and gentry (about 1573), includes Greek and Hebrew, and numerous modern languages.² And, ten years later, Giordano Bruno, though not complimentary as to Oxford and Cambridge, was delighted when taken to the Court, to find most of the gentlemen around the Queen able to speak Italian.³

Soon after Oxford came of age, Arthur Golding (his mother's half-brother) was admonishing him to "consider how God hath placed you upon a high stage in the eyes of all men, as a guide, pattern, ensample and leader unto others."⁴ All persons of rank were then expected to be interested in the "Noble Arts"; and Oxford in later life was conspicuous for his patronage of literature and the drama: but in 1904 in "*Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*," he was dismissed as a "boor"; and "the culture of the Renaissance" was believed to have passed him by. The lavish number of dedications addressed to him tell a very different story.⁵ Of his own writings not least interesting is his Latin discourse, introducing

¹ Presumably the dancing master.

² *Lansdowne MS.* xcviij., E.E. II, 2, 1.

³ E.E., Vol. V, "An Italian philosopher in England." 1584.

⁴ To "his very good Lord Edward de Vere, Erle of Oxinford, Lord Great Chamberlain of England" etc. etc., offering "*The Psalmes of David and others. With M. John Caluins Commentaries. Anno Do. MDLXXI.*" (B.M. No. 3090. bb. 20.)

⁵ Dedications to him began early. Some are in works now very rare. Of one, undated, by Edmund Elviden, "to the right honorable Edward Deviere" (De Vere) "Lord Boulbecke Erle of Oxford, Lord great Chamberlaine of England," only one copy is known. It is in the Henry E. Huntington Library, California: "*The most excellent and pleasant Metaphoricall Historie of Pesisstratus and Catanea. Set forth this present yeare by Edm. Eluiden Gentleman. Imprinted at London by Henry Brynnman. Cum Privilegio.*" But many dedications are easy of access. Underdown's epistle offering Oxford the translation of "*An Ethiopian Historie written in Greeke by Heliodoros.*" 1569, when Oxford was aged 19, has been included by Professor Saintsbury in his reprint of that romance.

Dr. Bartholomew Clerke's "*De Curiali sive Aulico*," 1571; a translation of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*.¹ "Having laid a laurel wreath of my own upon the translation," Oxford refers to the original work thus:

"For what more difficult, more noble, or more magnificent task has anyone ever undertaken than our author Castiglione, who has drawn for us the figure and model of a Courtier: a work to which nothing can be added, . . . a portrait which we shall recognise as that of the highest and most perfect type of man."

And this complete man had been depicted by one whose rendering of life and the world showed skill and knowledge such as only experience could give:

" . . . who has spoken of Princes with greater gravity? Who has discoursed of illustrious women with more ample dignity? No one has written of martial affairs more eloquently . . . and more clearly and admirably about encounters under arms in the field of battle."

The "*fitness and excellence with which he has portrayed the beauty of Chivalry in the noblest persons*" (and its opposites), are "*set down in so natural a manner that it seems to be enacted before our very eyes.*"

Dr. Clerke's rendering is apt:—"For who is clearer in his use of words? Or richer in the dignity of his sentences? . . . If weighty matters are under consideration, he unfolds his theme in a solemn and majestic rhythm; if the subject is familiar and facetious, he makes use of words which are witty and amusing."

Praises of Castiglione, and of Clerke's elegant Latin, culminate in compliments to the Queen as "of surpassing virtue, of wisest mind, of soundest religion, and cultivated in the highest degree in learning and literary studies"

This was "Given at the Royal Court on the 5th of January 1571"(2); when Oxford, in his twenty-second year, was full of good intentions towards his wife and father-in-law.

The previous July, 1571, Lord St. John had written sourly to Edward Manners, Earl of Rutland, "The Earl of Oxford hath gotten him a wife; or at the least a wife hath caught him; this is Mistress Anne Cecil"²

From the apologetic tone in which Burghley treated of the matter to Rutland, possibly he conjectured some criticism had been directed against him for betrothing his daughter to his ward. Though he was both the "Nestor" and "Atlas" of England, he had been raised to the peerage only six months previously; whereas of all ancient Norman descended families, not even excepting the house of Devereux, there was none prouder of its antiquity than that of De Vere.³

¹ Title page, p. 178.

² Dated from Fetter Lane. Orig: Rutland MS. Hist: MSS. Comm:

³ In Loftie's "*Kensington Picturesque & Historical*," 1888, p. 47, see reference to "Hugh de Vere, 4th Earl of Oxford," who on 12 Feb: 1327 received the King's permission to embark for the Holy Land, and who "is said to have seen the Star of Bethlehem . . . the star which *ever after appeared in the shield of the De Veres*." But it did not "appear" only in or after the 14th century. In the earliest existing Roll of Arms, temp. Henry III (published by Nicholas Harris Nicolas, 1829, 50 copies only, p. 4), the coat of "*Le Conte de Oxford*" is blazoned "*quartelee d'or et de goules ung molet d'argent en le quartier devant*." This blazon is repeated in the next reign in "*Nomina et Insignia Gentilitia Nobilium Equitumque sub Edoardo primo rege militantium*. . . . MDCCXLIIIJ."

By Edward III's day the tinctures of the quarterings or (gold) and gules (red) had been reversed; for the banner of John, Earl of Oxford, 6th of the list of "*principall Captains who were . . . at the siege of Callis*", is "quarterly g (gules) and or": The star (mullet argent) kept its place in the first quarter.

"I think it doth seem strange to Your Lordship to hear of a purposed determination in my Lord of Oxford to marry with my daughter"; wrote Burghley to Rutland, "and so, before his Lordship moved it to me, I might have thought it. . . .

. . . I could not well imagine what to think, considering I never meant to seek it, nor hoped of it . . . Truly, my Lord, after I was acquainted of the former intention of a marriage with Mr. Philip Sidney, whom always I loved and esteemed, I was fully determined to have of myself moved no marriage for my daughter until she should have been near sixteen." But before she was that age, Sidney had left him free to "hearken to any motion made by others as I should have cause to like." And "Now that the matter is determined between my Lord of Oxford and me, . . . I do honour him so dearly from my heart as I do my own son . . . I find . . . his wit and knowledge grown by good observation."¹

Previously, on the 3rd of August 1571, Burghley had noted in his chronology,

"The Erle of Oxford declared to the Q. Majesty at Hampton-court his Desyre to match with my Daughter Anne; whereto the Q. assented: *so did the D. of Norfolk*, being then a Presoner in his own House, called Howard-house."²

The arrangements for the match between Anne Cecil and Lord Oxford were simultaneous with negotiations by the French Ambassadors, Messieurs de Foix and De la Mothe Fénelon, for Queen Elizabeth's possible marriage "with Henry, the French Kings brother D of Anjou."³

On the 7th of September, the Duke of Norfolk was "committed to the Tower" for the second time; and on the 8th Lord Burghley briefly noted, "*The Duke confessed many things denied before.*"

"Sep: 10. The Duke made meanes to have the L of Burghley come to the Towre to hym, who so did.

22. The Queen's Majestie came to Theobalds, where these verses following were presented to hir Majesty, with a Portrait of the Houss."⁴

When Oxford had first come to live with his guardian, Sir William Cecil's elder daughter Anne was in her sixth year.⁵ She was not yet fifteen when on April 12th 1571 Lord Oxford came of age. There is not any portrait of her either at Hatfield House or at Burghley House; but several references to her beauty during her married life, and also her own few letters and poems, give an impression of sweetness and grace. Like all children of personages highly placed, she had been brought up to shun idleness, her father admonishing her in verse to be diligent.⁶

A fortnight after her fifteenth birthday her marriage to Oxford took place in Westminster Abbey; the Queen gracing the festivities "*chez milord de Burghley,*"

¹ Orig: Cal: Rutland MSS., 15 Aug:

² *State Papers*, ed: Murdin. 1759. p. 772.

³ Ib: p. 772. ⁴ Ib: 777.

⁵ She was born 5 Dec: 1556, at 11.30 p.m., as noted by her father; who enters Oxford's birthday as 1550, April 12th (not 2nd as stated in D.N.B.)

⁶ Lansdowne MS, 104. Verses "*To Mistress Anne Cecil, upon making her a New Year's gift, January 1, 1567*" (8). Published in Norman Ault's excellent "*Elizabethan Lyrics*" (1925), p. 54; but there signed by the editor "Burleigh." Lord Burghley never so spelt his own name; and in 1567-8 he was Sir William Cecil.

as the French Ambassador wrote.¹ And if ever Her Majesty was benevolent to any young and attractive lady, it was to the "sweet little Countess of Oxford," as Leicester's brother Ambrose Earl of Warwick called Burghley's daughter, seven years later.²

In a long letter to the Queen Mother, December the 22nd, 1571, the French Ambassador alleged that "*le Comte d'Oxford*" was "*ung peu broiller ez affaires du Duc de Norfolc,*" and that therefore it had been deemed advisable to marry him into a family so securely tied to the Crown as that of Burghley.³

We have all heard the story that Oxford was so angry with Burghley for failing to save his cousin Norfolk, that by way of revenge he squandered the fortune that should have come to Burghley's daughter. But the Duke's execution was in June 1572; and in the autumn of that year Oxford promised to be "governed and commanded" by the "good devotion" of his father-in-law: "*I do assure your Lordship, without dissembling my faults to you, to whom I perceive myself so much to be bound for your singular well-doing, I must confess my negligence.*" But the "negligence" relates merely to Oxford's own financial interests; and Burghley three years later wrote of him to the Earl of Sussex, "*Howsoever my Lord of Oxford be for his own matters of thrift inconsiderate, I dare avow him to be resolute in dutifulness to the Queen and Country.*"⁴

This seems answer enough to the notion of De la Mothe Fénelon as to Oxford dabbling in treason. And though Oxford's later career hardly answered expectations, one of the poems ascribed to him may indicate at least what he would have liked to be:

"Above the rest in Court, who gave thee grace:
Who made thee strive in honour to be best?
In constant truth to bide so firm and sure;
To scorn the world, regarding but thy friends:
With patient mind each passion to endure,
In one desire to settle to the end?
Love thou thy choice, wherein such choice thou bind
As nought but death may ever change thy mind."⁵

Though later, in 1576 and onwards, he was alienated from his wife,—causing her much grief and his father-in-law considerable distress,—he began with the best intentions:

"I am one that count myself a follower of yours now in all fortunes . . ." he wrote to Burghley; and "I humbly desire your Lordship to pardon my youth; *take in good part my zeal and affection towards you, . . . as one with whom I would spend my blood and life, so much you have made me yours.* . . ."

"With my hearty commendations and your daughter's, we leave you to the custody of Almighty God.

Your Lordship's affectionate son-in-law

EDWARD OXFORD."⁶

¹ "*Correspondence Diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon, Ambassadeur de France en Angleterre, de 1568 à 1595.*" 1840. Vol. IV. p. 315.

² Oct. 20. 1578. To Lord Burghley. Hatfield MS. Cal:

³ "*Corresp. . . de la Mothe Fénelon.*" Vol. IV. pp. 319-320.

⁴ MS. Cotton Titus B. II. 298. ⁵ MS. (Bodleian) Rawlinson.

⁶ Orig: Harl: MS. 6991. 5.

The earliest known picture of Oxford,—one at Welbeck Abbey, painted three and a half years after his marriage,—shows a fair-complexioned broad-shouldered gallant, with arched brows, hazel eyes, brown hair cut close; and a short upper lip decorated with an infinitesimal moustache. His expression may be called either supercilious or meditative, according to the prejudice of the beholder.

His pale mauve doublet is decorated with horizontal lines of narrow gold braid. A small black cloak hangs over his left shoulder; his black hat has double rows of gold buttons as ornamentation and a small brown and white feather. His ruff is of moderate dimensions; and for the Lord Great Chamberlain of England his taste in dress appears elegant rather than ostentatious.¹

Nine months after the marriage, he wrote to his father-in-law,

"My Lord.² I received your letters, when I rather looked to have seen your self here than to have heard from you; but sithe it is so that your Lordship is otherwise affaired with the business of the Commonwealth than to be disposed to recreate yourself and repose ye among your own, yet we do hope after this your having had so great a care of the Quens Majesty's service, you will begin to have some respect of your own health, and take a pleasure to dwell where you have taken pain to build."

(i.e. Cecil House, in Westminster, then nearly completed.)

"My wife . . . is departed into the country this day: (my)self as fast as I can get me out of town, do follow . . . for I am content and desire—"

Here the paper is torn; but the sentence ends "by it I may show myself dutiful to her."

" . . . if there were any service to be done abroad, I had rather serve there than at home, where yet some honour were to be got; *if there be any setting forth to sea, to which service I bear the most affection, I shall desire your L(ordship) to give me . . . that favour and credit . . . that I might make one: Which if there be no such intention, then I shall be most willing to be employed on the sea coasts, to be in a readiness with my countrymen against any invasion.*

"Thus remembering myself to your good Lordship, I commend you to God. From London this 22th of September, 1572, by your L(ordship's) to command.

EDWARD OXENFORD."

But he was not to get any sea service till 1588.

Two months before the wedding, his uncle Arthur Golding³ had dedicated to him "*The Psalmes of David and others*":

" . . . you perchance, according to the noble courage and disposition of your years, do look I should present unto you some History of the Conquests and affairs of Mighty Princes, some treatise of the government of common weales, some description of the platte⁴ of the whole Earth, or some discourse of Chivalry and feats of arms. These things are indeed meet studies for a nobleman, and in their season right necessary for the Commonwealth: but as I now present unto your honour much greater things: that is . . . , *true Religion, true Godliness, true Virtue, without the which neither can any common weal, any City, any household or any company be well governed, or have any stable or long continuance: These be the things wherein your Lordship may do God, your Prince, and your Country best service, and which do give true nobility, or rather are the very nobility itself.*

¹ Reproduced ante.

² Spelling modernised from Lansdowne MS. 14. 84. f. 185. Holog: Torn and damp-stained.

³ Arthur Golding, (b. 1536?) was younger son of John Golding of Belchamp St. Paul and Halsted Essex, and thus was half-brother of Oxford's mother.

⁴ Map.

"The greater that you are of birth and calling, the more do these things belong unto you. The greater gifts of nature, the more graces of mind, the more wordly benefits that God hath bestowed upon you, the more are you bound to be thankful unto him"; and to stand firmly to religion: "set more store by it than riches, . . . *to talk of it afore Kings and great men, to love it, to make your songs of it, to remember it night and day.*"

Those called to high place need virtues proportionate to their rank:

"For looke how much the greater burthen and charge lieth upon their shoulders, and the greater account they have to make" to God: "so much the greater wisdom and knowledge" do they need.

"If your virtues be uncounterfeited, if your religion be sound and pure, . . . you shall be a stay to your country, a comfort to good men, . . ." a deterrent to evil-doers "and an increase of honour to your own house."

"*These be no days of dalliance,*" protests Golding, amplifying his theme:

"Nobleness of birth, renown of Ancestors, favour of their Prince, friendship of their peers, . . . great alliances, great retinues depending upon them, liberty above the common rate, . . . sumptuous fare, costly apparel, gorgeous buildings, attendance of servants, and such other like: which as they be the singular good gifts and benefits of God bestowed upon them for their comfort, to the end they should the more love him and embrace his truth, . . ."

Oxford is warned against "the frailness of youth itself, the open menaces and privy practices of Antichrist, the common hatred and disdain of the world against the sincere worshippers of God."

Even if "Satan were asleep" and "the world at one with us," and evil examples no longer abounding, "yet have we one thing in ourselves . . . even original sin, . . . which never ceaseth to egg us and allure us from God . . ."

Spenser on the other hand was subsequently to affirm that "*we are divine, and born of heavenly seed*"; and that all evil, ugliness, and vice are a falling away from the spirit's divine heritage.

Adjuring young Oxford to be "a Christian Achilles," Golding sets before him "the everlasting salvation of the soul," as the "*fair Helen for whose safety it behoveth all good men to endure not ten years war but continual war all their life long.*"

Burghley is held up as the "Nestor" who will direct him:

"And moreover, God shall bless you with plentiful and godly issue by your virtuous and dear beloved Spouse, to continue the honour and renown of your noble house after the happily knitting up of both your years, which I pray God may be many, in inseparable love like the love of Ceix and Alcyone, to the glory of God and the contentation of both your desires."¹

At the time this was written, and during the year ensuing, there was no reason to anticipate any lack of the "contentation" prophesied. The Lord Treasurer's daughter was not only "a fair lady" (as Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador afterwards told the King of France), but she had tastes akin to those of her husband. "Learning and judgment shone in her, "as doth the pearl in gold," as Geoffrey Fenton was yet to express it, when dedicating "To the right honorable and vertuous Lady Anne Countesse of Oxenford" "*Golden Epistles . . . Morall Philosophicall, and Divine.*"

¹ "Written at London the 20th of October 1571. Your L. most humble to command, Arthur Golding." Spelling modernised from B.M. 3090. b.b. 20.)

² Dedication dated 4th of February 1575. (Repeated in editions of 1577 and 1582). "*Golden Epistles conteyning variety of discourse, both Morall, Philosophicall, and Divine: gathered as well out of the remaynder of Guevarae woorkes, as other authors, Latine, French and Italian. By Geoffrey Fenton. Mon heure viendra. Imprinted at London for Ralph Newberie dwelling in Fleetstreate a little above the conduite. 1575. (B.M. 1085. i. 26.)*"

Balthasaris Castilionis Comit
De Curiali siue Aulico
Libri quatuor ex Italico ser-
mone in Latinum
conuersi.

Bartholomæo Clerke Anglo Cantabrigienſi Interprete.

Non ante Æditi.



L O N D I N I,
apud Iohannem Dayum
Typographum.

An. Domini.

1571.

Title-page of Dr. Clerke's Latin translation of Castiglione's Cortegiano: which is prefaced in Latin by Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, Hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain of England. Preface dated January 1571(2).

Though reprinted in the editions of 1585, 1593, 1603, 1612, 1619, and 1713, Oxford's prefatory essay on Castiglione's masterpiece and on the art of translating was ignored by all literary critics; until rescued from oblivion in "*The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford*, by B. M. Ward. John Murray, 1928," pp. 80-83; in which was also translated Gabriel Harvey's praise of this preface as showing Oxford's own "excellence": Vide *Gratulationes Valdinenses*, 1578 (lib. iv), omitted by Grosart from his edition of Harvey's Works.

As Captain Ward's volume contains ample material to illustrate Oxford's encouragement of literature and drama, sections of "Elizabethan England" covering the same theme have been eliminated,—Oxford's scholarship and culture no longer standing in need of vindication.

PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION 10.

“Whatsoever ‘our mother’ commandeth.”

(*The Paris Massacre, 1572*).

“ . . . Whatsoever ‘Our Mother’ commandeth taketh place and standeth as law.”

Francis Walsingham (about the Queen Mother of France) *to the Earl of Leicester. From Blois. 15 Sep: 1571.*

Orig: Longleat MSS of The Marquess of Bath, K.G.

Dudley Papers, II. ff. 58-59. Now first published (facsimile).

“ . . . the tragical news out of France, . . . the more horrible is it, that it seems it is done with the consent of the Prince who had given his faith and laid his honour in pledge to the contrary.”

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, K.G. (Master of the Horse); to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl Marshal, 8th Sep: 1572. (Talbot MSS. Vol. G. f. 296. Lodge’s “Illustrations.” 1838. Vol. I. p. 548.)

“Nothing in the world nor in past history . . . resembling (this) or nearly so horrible.”

Junious de Jonge to “Monsieur Killigrew at the Court of the Majesty of the Queen of England”: from Flushing 25 September 1572. S.P. Foreign, Eliz: CXXV. 125. (300).

“ . . . this King for a bait and allurement abused the marriage of his owne sister, and in a manner besprinkled her wedding robe with blood: Which dishonour and indignity no posterity of al ages can forget. . . .

Kingly vertues in times past have been reputed to be these: justice, gentleness and clemency; but cruelty and outrage have ever been dispraised in all persons, and especially in Princes.”

“A Declaration of the furious ou(t)rages of France, with the slaughter of the Admirall.” “De Furoribus.” Reprint, 1644, from “A true & plaine report” &c., 1573.

ELISABETH, ARCHDUCHESS OF AUSTRIA,
QUEEN OF CHARLES IX OF FRANCE.

From the original by Clouet, in the Louvre.

(Photograph: Alinari).

*(Daughter of the Emperor Maximilian II, by Maria, daughter of the Emperor Charles V
and great-great granddaughter of Isabel Queen of Castile and Ferdinand King of Aragon).*

The young Queen of France was ill at the time of the Paris Massacre; but on hearing the cries of the victims, she said to her ladies that the King should be requested to protect his guests. She was then informed that the massacre was "by the King's command." This so horrified her that after his death in 1574 she refused to marry again; and spent the rest of her life in retirement, praying that her husband might be forgiven for the treachery perpetrated in his name.



CATHERINE (DE MEDICI): QUEEN OF HENRY II OF FRANCE, in youth.

Anonymous drawing.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, there dated conjecturally 1555.

(Photograph: Giraudon, 11404).

THE SAME, AS QUEEN MOTHER: from the same.

Dated conjecturally 1570.

(Photograph: Giraudon, 11453).



Unpublished holograph letter of

"MR. WALLSINGHAM CONCERNING MATTERS IN FRA(N)CE,"

From Paris, 5 March, 1571-2, to his "very good L the Earle of Leicester at the Court."

Dudley MSS. (Longleat), Vol. II, ff. 62, 62^b, 63,

in possession of The Marquess of Bath, K.G.

This letter contains significant remarks as to the Queen Mother (Catherine de Medici) and her daughter-in-law Queen Elizabeth, Archduchess of Austria:

"I heare secretly that ther is not the best liking between the two Queenes here: whereof the yonge Q is lieke to have the woorse by common iudgment *for that whatsoever o^r mother comaundethe takethe place and standethe for lawe. . .*"

This was unconsciously prophetic; for "the yonge Q." the following August was to try in vain to stop the Massacre which "our mother" had bidden the King to command.

Walsingham in March had no premonition of the trouble ahead; rather he hoped that the marriage of the French King's sister Marguerite de Valois with King Henry of Navarre was to usher in an era of peace in France; though he advised Lord Leicester "to have an eye to thos" Catholics "that are ther suspected w(i)t(h) you" in England.

The Dudley MSS were unknown to the author of "*Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*" (1925). They seem not until now to have been used by any historian.

C. Cunningham a Bill & I are again with you
 make - for by our common interest. You're
 and our little request is passed by
 the Orange Furber into the f. of
 our own. L. to me. Overlaid letter.
 And so leaving father to better know his
 I must goodbye take my leave
 I remain, Yours of course
 a 1871

Fr. Walsingham

I gave a card to the man in the car of a
woman's name. I can't remember his name
at that time of in my collection. I had done
some work at that time and he told me that we had
been at the same place.

*EDWARD, EARL OF LINCOLN, K.G. LORD HIGH ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND,
in his old age,*

*From the original on panel, formerly at Apethorpe Hall, Northants,
in possession of the Earl of Westmorland.*

Now in the National Portrait Gallery.

The inscription "Edward Clinton Earl of Lincoln" is modern. His surname was Fiennes not Clinton.

"Edward Fines, Lorde Clinton, Knight of the honorable Order of the Garter, Lord Admiral of England and Ireland, and of the priuy Counsell to Queen Elizabeth, was by her created Earle of Lincolne at Greenwich, the 14 of her raigne, the fourth of May, 1572. He deriued his line from Iohn Baron of Clinton, who beeing Brothers sonne to william Lord Clinton Earl of huntingdon under Edward the third, and his next heire male succeeding in the Barony of Clinton, married Idonea, eldest Daughter and co-heir of Geffrey, Lord Say, Baron of Sele in Kent, of whose other Daughter and Co-heire, called Ioan, married to Sir William Fines of Herst Monceaux in Kent, descended two heires of the Fines, whereof one is Lord Say, and the other was Lord Dacres of the South.

"He died the 16 of Ianuary, the 27 of Queene Elizabeth, 1585, being buried at Windsore, where he hath a stately Monument in a priuate Chappell."

A CATALOGUE OF HONOR. 1610. By Thomas Milles. p. 950.

Edward Clinton
Earl of Lincoln

1584



PHILIP SIDNEY'S HAND-WRITING AT THE AGE OF 18: March, 1571-2.

"To the Right Honorable and my (very good) Lorde and unkle the Earl of Lecestre etc."

Now first reproduced in facsimile from the original,
Dudley MSS., Vol. II, ff. 152-153: at Longleat
in possession of The Marquess of Bath, K.G.

Though this is among letters published in the Cambridge edition of the "*Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney*" (being one of the very few Longleat Dudley MSS which have seen the light) it is now selected for reproduction because the current facsimile in B.M. Series is from the Low Countries during the last year of his life. The neat Italian hand of his boyhood changed as he grew older. (We will yet contrast it with the agitated scribble of his *Defence of the Earl of Leicester*, circa 1584: the original MS of which was first discovered as such when the Russell of Aden papers were brought to the British Museum to be examined for the present writer in 1924: having hitherto been mistaken for a copy in the hand of Robert Sidney. Since being correctly identified it has been purchased by Messrs. Quaritch.)

Sidney's Continental experiences 1571-3 are deleted to make space for larger matters. In his earliest version of *Arcadia*, describing himself under the name of "Philisides," he related how he "was thought able to be my own master" at an early age, and "was suffered to spend some time in travel, that by the comparison of many things I might ripen my judgment." (Spelling modernised from "*Arcadia, Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney*," Cambridge, 1926, p. 312. See E.E. II, 4, 4, facsimile of the *Arcadia* MS discovered by Mr. Bertram Dobell).

Sidney's friendship with Hubert Languet, whose portrait is still at Penshurst Place, was characteristic; as also that he much preferred Languet's studious conversations to the allurements of Italy. Of the Italians he wrote that they were "given to counterfeit learning," and were too talkative: "from a tapster upwards they are all discoursers." (Letter to Robert Sidney: Zouch's "*Memoir of . . . the life of Sir Philip Sidney*," 1808, pp. 120-121).

Horsemanship, weapons, and painting he found better in Italy than elsewhere; and "their silks and wines" he commended. But his experiences abroad, both on his first and second Continental tour—the second in 1577 as the Queen's Ambassador to the Emperor (II, 3, 1),—only intensified his devotion to his native country in general and his uncle Lord Leicester in particular.

From Sidney's subsequent advice to his brother Robert, how to travel and how to study history, his own habits of mind may be inferred:

" . . . you have principally to note the examples of virtue or vice . . . the establishments or ruins of great estates, with the causes, the time and circumstances, . . . the enterings and endings of wars, and therein the stratagems, . . . and the discipline"

"*Letters and Memorials of State*," 1746. Vol. I, p. 284.

There beinge nothinge of whiche I am so desyrouse (yette honorable and my singular
good Lorde and kinde) as to haue continuall and certaine knowledge
what your pleasure is, by whiche I may gouerne my little actions: I
can not be without some note, that neuer since I came into Germany
I coulde by any meanes vnderstande it. wherefore I haue moste humbly
to beseech your Lordshippe that if in any of my proceedings I haue
erred, you will vouchsafe to impute yt to the not knowinge your
Lordshippe and their pleasure, by whose commaundement I am yekyne
to be directid. I was vpon Thursday laste with Counte Lodowick
the prince of oranges seconde brother, whose honorable usage was
suche towardes me, and such goodwill he seemes to beare vnto
your Lordshippe, that for wante of furdre habilitie, I can but wishe
him, a prosperous success to such noble enterprises, as I doubt not
he will shortly (wth the helpe of god) put in execution. I founde one
Shambourg an allmaine with him, a gentleman whome I knew in y^e
court of Fraunce, allways very affectionate to the kings service.
I doubt not but that he shalbe to draw the Counte to serue the
kinge, but I hope he laboureth in vaine. All mens eyes are so bent
to the affaires of Fraunce and Flaunders, that there is no talke here
of any other conrey. I haue in humble requeste vnto your Lordship
whiche is that it will please you to thank maister Culuerwell
the bearer hereof, for the courtesie he shewed vnto me, in employinge
his credit for me, beinge become into some necessity. Thus cringe for
don for the continuance of my wanted manner in vniuersally troubling
your L. I will most lowly leave you in his garde who ever yet
serue you France. Frankfurt this 25th of Marche 1572

Your most humble and most obedient servant

Philip Sidney

CHARLES IX KING OF FRANCE, as a boy:
after a drawing by François Clouet, circa 1561.
Bibliothèque Nationale. (Photograph: Giraudon, 11431).

THE SAME, in 1570. By François Clouet.
From the same. (Photograph: Giraudon, 11433).

HENRY OF LORRAINE (son and heir of Francis, Duke of Guise). Circa 1555.
From an anonymous drawing.
Bibliothèque Nationale. (Photograph: Giraudon, 11554).

THE SAME, AS DUKE OF GUISE:
from a drawing at the Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly. School of Clouet.
(Photograph: Giraudon, 7654).



PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER I.

“TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD.”

SECTION 10.

“Whatsoever ‘our mother’ commandeth.”

(*The Paris Massacre, 1572*).

WHEN the French Ambassador, François Duc de Montmorency came to England, among his train was his nephew Henry de la Tour d’Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne, whose father in 1557 had been killed fighting against the Spaniards and the English at St. Quentin. In his old age Turenne was to look back with pleasure upon his visit to the “*grande Cour*” of the “great Queen,” “*dans cette belle et flourishing ville.*”

The Englishmen he met there, in the summer of 1572, included Sir Henry Sidney; but not young Philip, who was then in France, in attendance upon Her Majesty’s Lord High Admiral, and Ambassador Extraordinary, Edward, Earl of Lincoln.² It had been on the 25th of May that the Queen granted to her “trusty and well-beloved Philip Sidney Esquire” her royal licence to go “out of England

¹ p. 50. “*Les Memoirs de Henry de La Tour d’Auvergne, Souverain Duc de Bouillon*” (which last title he acquired in right of his wife).

² See memo, Hatfield MS 152.28: “*Les noms des Seigneurs et gentilzhommes de la compaignye de Mons le Comte de Lincoln Admiral d’Angleterre.*”

“Mons. Le Conte de Lincoln, Admiral d’Angleterre.

My Lord Talbot filz aisne du conte de Shrowsbery

My Lord Clinton filz aisne du conte de Lincoln

My Lord Dacres, sr et baron dudy Lieu

My Lord Sande(s) Sr et baron dudy Lieu

My Lord Riche, Sr et baron de Leez

Le Sir Edouard hastings frere du conte de huntingdon du sang royal.

Le Sir Henry Borough filz aisne de my Lord Borough

Le Sir Giles Bridges filz aisne de my Lord Chandos

Mons (illegible) Sidney, filz aîné de Mons? Sidney chev. de L’ordre president du conseil au paye de Wales.”

In Hatfield Calendar vol. I (1883) this note of an Embassy to France has been erroneously entered among papers of Queen Mary’s reign, the editor forgetting that there was not then any Earl of Lincoln.

into parts beyond the Seas, with three servants and four horses to remain the space of two years immediately following his departure out of the realm," "for his attaining the knowledge of foreign languages." Though the learning of "tongues" had begun long since with Sidney, his being sent abroad, aged seventeen and a half, was no mere voyage of pleasure; it was to "perfect" him for the service of his Sovereign and country.

He must have been familiar from childhood with the appearances of many foreign Princes and Potentates, through his uncle Leicester's collection of contemporary portraits.²

Appropriately the Kenilworth Inventory³ begins with "*Two great tables of the Queenes Majesties Pictures, with one curtaine changeable silke*" (shot silk); and next comes "*Two greate Pictures of my Lord in whole proportion: the one in armour, the other in a suite of russet satin. With one curtaine to them.*"

Pictures painted on wood being affected adversely by too strong a light, were frequently covered with curtains; and their relative value in the Inventories can be conjectured from whether or no they are thus protected. "*The Queene of Scotts*," King Philip; his wife; "*thempereor Charles*"; the Prince of Orange, and the Princess; the "*Duke of Alva*"; the Duchess of Parma, Governess of the Netherlands, all have curtains.

Besides these and many more at Kenilworth there was at Leicester House another of the Emperor Charles, "*Another of the Duke of Alva*," two more of the Prince of Orange; one of "*the yonge King of Scotts*" (can this be the painting of James VI aged eight, now in our National Portrait Gallery?); and "*Cassimeere*" (Prince John Casimir of Poland). "*Her Majestie whole proportion*" may have been the portrait now at Welbeck Abbey, traditionally said to depict the Queen on a visit to Lord Leicester at Wanstead Place.⁴

At Wanstead, Leicester had pictures of Henry VIII, and of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth; and of "*the Queen of Hungarie*," the "*Queene of Persia*," the "*Queene of Portingale*" (Catherine, widow of John III); more of the Emperor Charles and the Prince and Princess of Orange; one of "*Donn John*" of Austria; Counts Horne and Egmont of tragic memory; Sir Richard Shelley, the dispossessed Grand Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem; "*Mountsir*" (Monsieur, Queen Elizabeth's suitor), and the "*Queene Mother of France*."

To the Ambassador at Paris in the spring of 1572, Leicester wrote,

"Mr. Walsingham,

For as much as my nephew Philip Sidney is licensed to travel and both presently repair unto those parts with my Lord Admiral, I have thought good to commend him by these my friendly lines

¹ Orig: at Penshurst Place in possession of the Lord De L'Isle and Dudley.

² The scattering of these pictures after Leicester's death is a national loss. Even to read the list of them is tantalising. First printed in *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Ser: vol. II, 1862; pp. 201-2, 224-6, 225-6.

³ xviii Oct: 1588, a month and four days after Lord Leicester's death.

⁴ Reproduced ante. 1572, sec: 8.

unto you, as to one I am well assured will have a special care of him during his abode there.¹ He is young and raw; and no doubt shall find those countries and the demeanour of the people somewhat strange unto him: in which respect your advice and counsell shall greatly behove him for his better direction; which I do most heartily pray you to vouchsafe him, with any other friendly assistance you shall think needful for him.

His father and I do intend his further travel, if the world be quiet and you shall think it convenient for him. I pray you we may be advertised thereof, to the end the same his travel may be thereupon directed accordingly.

Your very friend

R. LEYCESTER."²

"*If the world be quiet?*" Far from quietness being ahead for Philip Sidney, his destiny took him to France in time to witness a tragedy which was to influence him to the end of his days.

At this juncture Pope Pius V died. His successor, Gregory XIII, enthroned on Whitsunday, 1572, was soon to repeat Pope Pius's sentences upon Queen Elizabeth. His first act, however, was an effort to carry on the conflict against the Turks; to which end he sent his nuncio to France to demand aid from King Charles IX. "But that King being engaged in a War with his Protestant Subjects had neither men nor money to spare, so that the Legat returned to Rome with fair words and nothing more."³

Retrospectively we may wonder how any man could have trusted King Charles IX, and we marvel that Admiral de Coligny-Chastillon and the other Huguenots consented to come into the midst of their enemies in Paris on so frail a security as the word of that unstable Sovereign. But from the unpublished Dudley MSS at Longleat it now appears that even Sir Thomas Smith and Francis Walsingham were favourably impressed by King Charles, and had no suspicion of treachery. On the 15th of September 1571, from Blois,⁴ Walsingham had written to his "very good lorde the Earle of Leicester" that "this gentleman the bearer hereof" (no name) "can informe your Lordship how honorably the Admiral" hath been used by the King, Queen Mother, and Monsieur."⁵

In March, Walsingham writing to Leicester from Paris, describing how "honorably entertained" Lord Buckhurst had been,—and how "well satisfied" the King of France appeared with his "demeanour,"—added significantly:

¹ Walsingham's sister Barbara was married to Sir Henry Sidney's brother, Thomas Sidney of Walsingham Priory, Norfolk. The families were intimate friends and called each other cousins.

² Spelling modernised from B.M. MS. Vesp: F. 6. 726. Zouch's "*Memoirs of . . . Sidney*" (1808) p. 39.

³ p. 164 (2nd part) "*The Lives of the Popes, From the time of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to the Reign of Sixtus IV. Written Originally in Latine by Baptista Platina Native of Cremona, And Translated into English. And the same History continued from the Year 1471 to this present time; wherein the most remarkable Passages of Christendom both in Church and State are Treated and Described. By Paul Rycaut, Esq: London: Printed for Christopher Wilkinson at the Black Boy over against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street, 1685.*" Folio. With portrait of "Sr Paul Rycaut late Consul of Smyrna; and Fellow of the Royall Societie" (P. Lely, Pinxit, R. White, Sculp). (pp. 416; and "Continuation" 394 pp.)

⁴ "Bloyse."

⁵ "The Admirawle."

⁶ Holograph. MSS of the Marquess of Bath, K.G. Dudley Papers, Vol. II. ff. 58, 59. Facsimile, ante.

*"I hear secretly that there is not the best liking between the two Queens here: whereof the young Queen is like to have the worse, by common judgment: for that here whatsoever 'our Mother' commandeth taketh place and standeth for law."*¹

The previous January the French King had commissioned the Duke of Montmorency "to treat of a firm Peace with the Queen of England's Deputies"; and on the 9th of February Her Majesty under the Great Seal had authorised Sir Thomas Smith, Francis Walsingham, and Henry Killigrew to negotiate to that effect. On the 19th of April, peace had been "concluded between the Q(ueen's) Majesty and Charles IX the Fr(en)ch King at Bloys," and in the 14th year of the Queen's reign and the 12th of King Charles.² It was the month after this, that our "Lord Admyrall," was ordered "into France to confirm the Peace made at Bloiss."³ On hearing that it was not Leicester who would be coming Sir Thomas Smith wrote to him,

"My very good Lord,

I am sorry I shall not see your Lordship here in France, for I understand now my Lord Admiral doth come. Nevertheless the Duke de Montmorency, Marshal of France, continueth his purpose [to go] into England; and with him Messieurs de Foix and De Bataille, both of the Privy Council: De Bataille one much favoured of the [Marshal], esteemed a wise and well learned man; De Foix enough known to your Lordship. Surely none should have been so welcome as your Honour, although my Lord Admiral cannot be but welcome."

"How this League is esteemed with you I know not. Sure I am the King here esteemeth it much, and will not stick to say that he esteemeth it more than any other, yea than we ourself would think. *He accompteth the peace-making with his subjects the marriage of his sister to the Prince of Navarre, and this league of straiter amity and mutual defence with the Queen's Majesty, to be the happiness which hath come to him for the establishment of his Crown: All the which he hath done and brought to pass, he saith, against the will of many of his Council:* And more than once hath said 'Thanks be to God, these three [things] God hath given me the grace to do, and therefore I know God loveth me; and if I might obtain the fourth I would think me the happiest Prince in the world.'

This Prince hath had trouble, which hath made him wise in his young age. . . . I pray God we may have the same, or the like grace to know his benefits; and still to follow that which shall be the assurance of her Majesty's reign and us in all peace and quietness both within and without the realm.

Thus I commit your honour to Almighty God. From Paris the VIII of May, 1572.

Your Lordship's most bounden

T. SMITH."³

Smith had not yet learned that the word "peace" was oftenest on the lips of those who least intended it. And when Philip Sidney arrived in Paris and was received with marked favour, appointed Honorary Gentleman of the Bedchamber and created a Baron of France, not only did he believe in the excellent intentions of the Royal House of Valois, but his elders at the Embassy were confident that the approaching Bourbon-Valois marriage would end the internecine miseries of France.

¹ "At Paris the V of Marche a^o 1571." (72 n.s.) Spelling modernised from orig: Longleat unpublished Dudley Papers, Vol. II. ff. 62-63. Facsimile, ante.

² Lord Burghley's Chronol: Notes. *State Papers*, 1759. ed: Murdin. pp. 772-773.

³ Spelling modernised from holograph, unpublished Dudley (Longleat) MSS. Vol. II. ff. 104-105. Sealed: addressed f. 105b: "to the right honorable and my sin(gular) good Lord, The Erle of Leicester."

Equally unsuspecting of what was ahead, Sir Humphrey Gilbert "*from flussyng*" wrote to Burghley that he was "certainly informed that there cometh with the next wind 6 Ensigns of French soldiers to Flushing, sent by the Admiral of France, and 100 French Captains without charge, and their soldiers to follow them, with certain galleys.¹

Five days after the Treaty of Blois had been ratified at Paris,—and not quite eight weeks before the date fixed for the marriage of the Huguenot King of Navarre with the only daughter of Queen Catherine,—the Grand Admiral of France wrote to King Charles, protesting against an accusation it had "pleased His Majesty" to bring against him in a letter sent through "*La royne vo(tr)e mere*," who at the Tuileries had delivered it to him that evening. His language, though respectful, is decisive. The King had written to him that he hears "assemblies" of the Huguenots were being arranged to take place in all the provinces, on the 15th of the next month; and that nothing of the kind could have been contemplated without the Admiral's authority.

The Admiral answers: "*If it were so, I should have done very wrong and would deserve punishment.*" But as he has not countenanced nor even heard of any such projects it is needless to apologise for an offence not committed. He sends his son immediately to reassure the King: adding that this is not the first time false rumours have been circulated against him. He thanks God he neither has had, nor will have, anything in his mind but what befits a man of honour. "*Très humblement*" he prays the King to "*vouloir écouter et croire*" his son, who is the bearer of this letter.

His tone, however, is not humble. It is that of one conscious of his own integrity, and scornful of adversaries who endeavour to prejudice his Sovereign against him by untruths. That the "assemblies" are as imaginary as his consent to them, that he sees through the attempt to make him appear as if he were on the eve of organising a rebellion,—furthermore that he hardly believes it possible any man's lies can stand against his truth, and that he so despises the Queen Mother's thinly veiled threat that his contempt is stronger than his premonition of

¹ Orig.: S.P.D.E. CXXIV. 269. (Spelling modernised).

Gilbert asks to know the Queen's wishes; for unless he receives orders to the contrary he is "determined to leave this town," as he finds "our soldiers very ill-used, and the conditions and "pactes" intolerable. He asks for a galley and a "lyttell fryggett"; reports by name some of his officers as very valiant; tells of plots and counter plots; and sends "this bearer mr Lyster who hath served valiantly," to report more fully than there is time to do by letter.

"I most humbly thank your honour for many favours that we found in this town at your Lordship's hands for victuals and many other things. I am your Honour's during my life, to honour and serve you, assuring you that to do any exploit here for the service of her Majesty I will put myself at any time ready cut in pieces," altered to "*I will at all times be ready to take anything in hand . . . not respecting the danger*; and therefore I beseech your honour not to regard my life but the service of her Majesty and Country.

From Flushing the 13th of August, 1572.

Your Honour's most humble

H. GYLBERTE."

approaching calamity,—is what comes up before us as we read.¹ He is the same in this letter to the King as he was to be on the night of the 24th of August, when he endeavoured to teach manners to the foreign assassin who had been hired to slay him.

The conflict as to who should most influence the King,—Queen Catherine or the Admiral,—had been of long duration. The King had inclined first to one; then to the other. There were times when he was sane; and periods when the hereditary madness of the Valois plunged him alternately into deep melancholy and sheer frenzy. To carry the heavy burdens of Kingship he had not the full faculties of a normal man. But that he had the outward semblance of kingly attributes is clear from Sir Thomas Smith's hitherto unknown letter, showing that Smith not only trusted him, but held him up as an example to England for his "wisdom" and devotion to "peace."²

"But," as afterwards related, Queen Catherine intended "no peace, but most cruell war cloaked under the name of peace . . ." all the more startling and terrible because it seemed as if there could have been "no more assured token of publike peace and quietnesse" than "that the King purposed to give his sister Margaret in marriage to the Prince Henry the sonne of the Queen of Navarre. . . ."

When "the marriage was appointed to be holden in the City of Paris, . . . so great was the preparatio(n) of Playes, so great was the magnificence of banquets and shewes, and the King so earnestly bent to those matters, that he had no leasure, not only for waighty affairs, but almost not so much as to take his naturall sleep. For in the French Court, Dancings, Maskings, Stage-playes (wherein the King exceedingly delighted) are commonly used in the night time."³

In "*The Lyfe of . . . Jasper Colignie Shatilion*" as translated by Arthur Golding in 1576, from the Latin 1575, what most shocks both author and translator is the subterfuge of King Charles IX, inviting the Admiral "by most gentle and honourable letters" to return to the Court for the wedding; meaning all the while to destroy him. That the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal his brother might indulge in "secret practises" the Huguenots thought likely. But when the King gave reassurances to the Admiral, he refused to "think amisse of his good will." The Admiral's confidence in the King's word was the "ground woork of all the devyce" which they "had in hand"; and the better to encourage him "there was show made of entering into preparations for war against Spain" which stratagem was duly explained to King Philip so that "he should not mystake of the preparative to warre that was pretended."

The duplicity of the French King is alleged to have been revealed to Coligny by a copy of an intercepted letter from one of the Cardinals to the Duke of Guise's brother the Cardinal of Lorraine:

"He that sent the Admirall the copie of this letter hoped that the reading thereof would forewarne him to take heed to himself. . . But *he trusted so*

¹ In 1926 this letter (1¼ pp.) was in possession of Messrs. Maggs Bros. (Cat: No: 474; Plate IV, item 877. Priced £52. 10s.) With it were two others. (Nos. 878 and 879) one of which, dated from La Rochelle 15 January 1571-2, with superscription and seal, was to the Queen Mother.

² Ante, p. 184.

³ "*A Patterne of Popish Peace . . . 1644.*"

much to the King's faithfulness and great good wil towards him, . . . that whereas in all other things he seemed most sharp-witted and of very great foresight, in this one case he was by a kynd of destinie stark blynd.

"Howbeit, forasmuch as there is a treatise set forth already, intituled the declaration of the Hellish slawghter,¹ conteyning the discourse of the whole matter with the tragical issues thereof, and the celebrating of the King of Navarre's marriage, with all maner of pomp and royalitie of shoves," the biographer depicts only the last scenes.

When a preliminary attempt was made to assassinate the Admiral, the King sent his own surgeon Ambrose Parey to dress the wound, and came in person to visit the sufferer. His Majesty was accompanied by the Queen Mother and a group of courtiers, professing solicitude and sympathy.

Lord Burghley wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury,

"The news out of France is strange. The Admiral having waited on the King to Tennis, at his return was shot out of a house, belonging to a follower of the Duke of Guise; with a calivre having three bullets, and his forefinger of his right hand struck off with one pellet, his wrist of his right arm shot through in two places; and hereupon he is fallen sick of a fever somewhat dangerously."

After this, King Henry of Navarre demanded "a Royal Guard for the Admiral's lodging"; whereon King Charles's brother the Duc d'Anjou selected fifty Harquebusiers under the command of Monsieur Cossins. The choice was ominous; for Cossins was known as the Admiral's foe; and when he ordered all Catholics to leave that street and give up their quarters to the Admiral's friends, this was no act of kindness, but was to get the Huguenots together that they might be easier slaughtered.

On the night fixed for the massacre there were "lodged in the Admiral's house" a small retinue, amongst whom are specified "Yolette the Mayster of the Admirall's horses, Merline the minister of God's word, Ambrose the King's Surgeon."

The assassins knocked at the doors on the pretext that they brought messages from the King; but, arriving so late, their evil purpose was suspected, and a few loyal servants barricaded the stairs.

The door at the foot of the staircase was forced, the barricades were removed; and the only one of the Guard, who offered resistance, was shot dead by order of Cossins.

The "noize and uprore" wakened the Admiral. "They have broken into the house; and there is no way to withstand them," exclaimed the King's Surgeon (who may or may not have been cognizant beforehand of the project).

¹ "De Furoribus," &c. 1573. App: A.

² Howard MSS. No. LXVI. Lodge's "Illustrations," (1838), Vol. I. pp. 539-41.

The Admiral, disabled by his wound, asked to be lifted out of bed. His "nightgown"¹ was then put on, and he sat up in a chair. With the utmost composure he bade his servants leave him: "It will be in vain for you to go about to save my life," he said; "I commend my soul to God's mercy."

"They that are the witnesses of these things, noted that the Admirall did no more change his countenance" than "if no strange thing at all had happened."

Most of his retainers took him at his word: "getting themselves away into the garretts of the howse, and finding a windowe in the rooffe" they escaped under cover of the night.

The fatal blow was not struck by a Frenchman, but by "one Berhame, a Germane, borne in the Dukedom of Wirtemberg." Not knowing Coligny by sight, he had to ask him "*Art thou not the Admirall?*"

"'Yes I am he,' (quoth the Admirall :) 'and thou young man, have regard of my hore head and old age.'"

"But Berhame without giving him any mo(re) wordes strake him on the head with his swoord, and was the first that imbued himself with the Admirall's blood. After him followed Cossins, Attignie and all the residew.

. . . . The Admirall's bodie being throwne downe out of a windowe, was trampled underfoot by the young Duke of Gwyse; and anon, after, tumbled into the myre in the open street, and mangled and used with all the vilainie that might be: and, three days after, carried out of the Citie by the furious multitude;³ and hanged up by the feete uppon the gallowes of Mountfalcon."

There it "remayned certaine days" as a "monument of the madnesse and cruelty" which had been executed upon the "greate Admirall," "both quick and deade: which deed will never be forgotten."⁴

Within a short while, some of his friends came secretly by night and rescued and buried his body. But the insults and indignities which had been heaped upon the corpse of so renowned a servant of his King and Country excited almost as

¹ Dressing-gown. ² He was 53; which in the 16th century was considered "old."

³ Mostly Guisards, the Duke of Guise being nicknamed the "King of Paris."

⁴ The Admiral's first French biography gives the same details with only slight difference: in bidding his servants save themselves, he remarks "*Il y a longtemps que je suis préparé à la mort.*" His servants leave him, including his chaplain; there is but one "*qui ne le voulut jamais quitter.*" The German assassin enters; and not knowing the Admiral by sight, "*il lui demanda qu'il étoit. Je suis que tu cherches, répondit l'Amiral, sans s'étonner; mais si tu es Soldat, comme tu me parois, aprens à respecter un vieux capitaine.*" But the German immediately smote with a sabre the defenceless and wounded Admiral; and then came "Cossins" and all the others, each wounding him; even after he was dead. "*Cela fait, ils le jetterent par les fenestres, et comme le Duc de Guise étoit en bas, . . . il lui toucha du pied.*" Then follows a description of how they inflicted horrible mutilation upon the dead body, and dragged it through the streets, "*criant que c'étoit celui de l'Amiral ce fameux Huguenot qui avoit été rebelle à Dieu et à son Roi.*"

"*La Vie de Gaspard de Coligny, Seigneur de Chastillon sur Loing, Gouverneur pour le Roi de l'Isle de France et de Picardie, Colonel General de l'Infanterie Francoise, et Admiral de France. A Cologne, chez Pierre Marteau. MDCLXXXVI.*" (Livre V. p. 401).

much indignation abroad as the murder itself; and Huguenots fled in thousands swiftly from France, for the massacre of their kinsfolk had shown them what to expect.¹

"Making report that the Admirall was a noble gentleman, a great and wise Capteine, and the glorie of their Countrie" they described the murder, cursed the murderers, and vowed vengeance.

Among the fugitives were numerous German students, who returned home to tell of the "outrageous heinousness" of this "hellish manslaughter." There was hot indignation among those who had "served the Admirall in the former warres." "Everywhere among the Princes of Germanie" the Admiral's valour and "vertue" were remembered.² And the treacherous manner in which he had been inveigled to the marriage of the King of Navarre, aroused such wrath against the Queen Mother Catherine, (recognised as the dominant influence,) that the indignation was never allayed in her lifetime.³

The bitterness of the subsequent contest was sharpened again and again by memory of those days and nights of terror: "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth," says Ulenspiegel in the Dutch legend:

"at Paris, on Saint Bartholomew's night, they killed ten thousand free hearts in Paris city alone. The King shot at his folk. They have taken the dead or living victims to the rivers, and by full cartloads, and have flung them in the water. Dead or alive. . . . The Seine ran red for nine days, and the ravens settled down in clouds upon the town.

At La Charité, at Rouen, Toulouse, Lyons, Bordeaux, Bourges, Meaux, terrible was the massacre. Seest thou the troops of dogs satiate with eating, lying beside the bodies? . . ."

" . . . Let us not weep, brothers . . .
If God is with us, who shall be against?
After the hyaena triumphs,
Comes the lion's turn. . . ."⁴

"From Woodstock this 8th of September" the Earl of Leicester wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury,

"I doubt not but you have been advertised at large of the tragical news out of France. . . . I think no Christian, since the heathen time, has heard of the like; and the more horrible is it, that it seems it is done with the consent of that Prince who had given his faith and laid his honour in pledge for the contrary before."⁵

¹ "In those few dayes almost ten thousand" (slain), says the "Life."

² By "Germanie" the Elizabethans usually refer to the Holy Roman Empire; but the allusion here must be meant to include the Princes of the Protestant States.

³ "Imprinted at Sanc androis, by Robert Lekpriuik. Anno Do. 1572," in Scots dialect was "*Ane new Ballet set out by ane fugitive Scottisman that fled out of Paris at this lait Murder.*"

The responsibility for the tragedy was not put upon the King, but upon the Queen Mother "Katherine de Medicis."

See "*A Collection of Seventy-Nine Blackletter Ballads. . . . between the years 1559 and 1597. . . . London. . . . 1867.*" pp. 37-41.

⁴ "*The Legend of Ulenspiegel and Lamme Goedzak, and their adventures. . . . Translated by F. M. Atkinson*" (from the French of Charles de Coster.) London (Heinemann) 1922. Vol. II. pp. 258-259.

⁵ Talbot MS. Vol. G. f. 296. Lodge's "*Illustrations*" (1838), Vol. I, p. 548.

And the young Earl of Oxford appealed to Burghley,

"I would to God your Lordship would let me understand some of your news . . . of the murder of the Admiral of France and a number of noble men and worthy gentlemen and such as greatly have in their lifetimes honoured the Queen's Majesty our Mistress: on whose tragedies we have a number of French Aeneases in this city that tell of their own overthrows, with tears falling from their eyes: a piteous thing to hear, but a cruel and far more grievous thing we must deem it then to see. . . . Like a Vesper Sicilianus, as they say, that cruelty spreads all over France."¹

"The tragedy begun in France at the marriage of the King of Navarre," wrote Under-Secretary William Davison to Sir Nicholas Bacon, "is yet in handling":

"The number of the murdered Huguenots is not judged to be less than thirty or forty thousand; yet so much innocent blood shed sufficeth not to satisfy the devilish thirst of their executers.

"The authors of the matter by common opinion, are the Queen Mother and the Cardinal of Lorraine, . . ."²

Indignation increased in England when it became known how "The Gentlemen, officers of the Chamber, Governours, Tutors, and household servants of the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé" had been chased from the rooms in which they slept in the Royal Palace of the Louvre. Thrust into the courtyard they were "massacred in the King's presence."

Counting others, slain who "lay about the Admiral's lodging," and "throughout the Town," the number of victims "that Sunday at night, and the two next days ensuing, within the town of Parris and the suburbs was esteemed to be about tenne thousand persons: Lords, Gentlemen, Pages, servants, justices of all sorts, Scholars, Lawyers, Phisitions, Merchants, Artificers, women, maides, and boyes, not sparing little children in the cradle," and children unborn.³

Far from feeling shame or remorse, the King's Guard and the foreign mercenaries, who helped in the massacre, boasted that "in one day by weapon and disorder they had ended those processes which pen, paper, sentences of justice, nor open war could find the meanes" to overthrow in the previous twelve years.³

The slayers seem to have had no foresight as to the disgust which would be aroused against them; no consciousness of having so stained their own cause that centuries would not wash away the memory of how these "honourable Lords and Gentlemen" and their retainers, who had come into Paris on the King's own

¹ Holog: Harl. MS. 6991-5. Signed "Your Lordship's affectionate son in law Edward Oxenford."

² Sep: 30, 1592. Spelling modernised from letter, signed, (1 p. folio), in possession of Messrs. Maggs Bros. 1923.

³ "An Historical Collection of the most memorable accidents, and Tragical Massacres of France, vnder the Raignes of Henry 2, Francis 2, Charles 9, Henry 3, Henry 4 now living. Conteyning all the troubles therein happened, during the said Kings times, until this present year 1598 . . . Translated out of French into English. Imprinted at London by Thomas Creede, 1598." p. 256.

invitation to a wedding festivity, were "slaunderously accused of conspiracie," and "being stark naked, thinking only upon their rest, scarce awake, . . . not having so much leisure" even to begin to dress, "were slaine some in their beddes, others uppon the roofes of houses and in whatsoever other places they might be found.¹ "It would bee over long to recite at large the names and surnames of all the honourable personages of divers quallities" then slaughtered. "It sufficeth that their names are registered in heaven."²

Even in the next century English popular feeling was still hot with indignation, typified in a pamphlet called "*A Patterne of Popish Peace: Or a Peace of Papists with Protestants. Beginning in Articles, Leagues, Oathes, and a Marriage. And ending in a bloody Massacre of many thousand Protestants.*"³

The case is, inevitably, treated in very different terms by the partisans of the House of Valois;⁴ but our present task is to prepare for understanding how it subsequently affected Philip Sidney, his host Walsingham, and many other Englishmen, upon whom it had come with the suddenness of a tropical tempest.

That Charles IX was out of his mind at the time, and that, as he afterwards

¹ Ib :

² Ib : p. 256 : "in the space of twentie yeares after this massacre, (it) hath sufficiently appeared that God revengeth the blood of innocents. . . ."

³ 'London. Printed by L.N. for Richard Whitaker, and are to be sold at his shop in Paul's Church-yard at the signe of the King's Armes. 1644." pp. 6 unnumbered prelims; 184 text; and (unnumbered) page for license.

Another and later but equally typical title-page is "*Popish Policies and Practices containing the History of the Bloody Massacres of the Protestants in France in the year of our Lord 1572. . . . Whereunto is added a Relation of the Combination of Rome and Spain against England during the Happy Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and of the Unhappy Attempts at the same time of the whole Popish Faction for the extirpation of the Reformed Religion in France. . . . London, printed for John Leigh, at the Sign of the Blew Bell over against the Inner Temple Gate in Fleet Street, 1674.*"

This contains four other title pages, the last being "*A Discourse containing the original of the Powder Plot: Together with a Relation of the Conspiracie against Queen Elizabeth. And the Persecution of the Protestants in France To the death of Henry the Fourth. Collected out of Thuanus, Davila, Perefis, and several other authors of the Roman Communion.*" This—though drawn from "Papist" historians—is a partisan publication, issued at a time when the French and "Popish" leanings of the Stuart Princes had alarmed the people. Such productions require to be cautiously read; but their psychological interest is that they bring back the feelings which formerly animated the majority of the English nation; this horror and dread of "bloody Popish practices" being the chief legacy of Catherine de Medici, who thus did more injury to the Church than any "heretic" could have achieved. When in 1688 the English populace mistakenly believed King James II to intend the violent deaths of "all Protestants," it was the precedent of the Paris Massacre of 1572 which his political enemies imagined (or pretended) he had in mind, though his own words and actions sufficiently demonstrated his intention of a real religious toleration.

⁴ In certain French chronologies these events are described with reticence, which would be extremely misleading if we did not know the facts: "Après estant arrivé à Paris Henry d'Albret Roy de Navarre et fils d'Antoine de Bourbon et de Jeanne d'Albret, espousa en l'Eglise nostre Dame de Paris, suivant les saintes ceremonies de l'Eglise Catholique, Madame Marguerite de France, le 18 d'Aoust, 1527" (misprint for 72.) "Le vendredy 22 dudit mois Gaspard de Colligny Admiral estoit frappé d'un coup de harquebuse en la main" (no statement as to by whom or why). "Le vingt-quatrienne ensuiva(n)t, fut la journée S. Barthelememy, ou moururent l'Admiral, la Rochefoucault, Teligny, Pilles et autres; mais Montgommery et le Vidame de Chartres se sauverent" Queruau, "*Epitome . . . de l'Historie Universalle . . . 1613.*" pp. 308-309. Not a word as to how they "died" or of the general massacre, or the violated safe-conduct.

said, he lived through the massacre as through a nightmare, may be the literal truth. It is the only excuse possible for the violation of his "princely word," his betrayal of his trust as the "Most Christian King." On the 25th September, 1572, Junius de Jong wrote from Flushing that the "treacheries and horrible massacres . . . in Paris and elsewhere in France" had been such that "*nothing in the world, nor in past history*" resembled them. And that it was to be feared they were part of a general plot against all who had resolved not to "do homage" to "Babelonish" powers. He therefore suggests that because such forces have their League, so also on the other side, while private persons should prepare to be both resolute and patient, those in high place must unite and make ready to defend their subjects: putting into practice "the lesson King Scilures gave to his children" to unite as closely as a bundle of faggots. This the foe would try to hinder, "by pretence of ancient friendship and goodwill, and the outward titles of 'brother' and 'sister': or by 'new pretended alliances,' as had happened to "*Monsieur l'Amiral*."

"For them to assault and bring to ruin . . . one after another" the various Protestant states, would be easy; unless frustrated by the unity of those in danger. It should be represented to the Queen of England how necessary it was for her and the Prince of Orange and the Protestant Princes of Germany to take concerted measures (of preparation for defence), in regard to which "Millord Bourlé" should be specially entreated to convince his Sovereign.¹ And previously Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "*Au Camp devant tregouse ce vij^{me} iour de septembre 1572*," on the first rumour of the Massacre, sent a letter to London addressed to "*Mons le Conte de Montgomerie*" or "*en son absence au tresnoble le seign^r burley le grand tresorier d'angleterre et du conseil prive a sa maieste*."

Being "greatly astonished by the news from France," he hopes the events were not really "so horrible as report makes them." But if they were indeed so dreadful, then this may be seen an "infallible sign" and warning of dangers against which others should now prepare to defend themselves.²

When in November a "new fair star," brighter than Jupiter and equal to Venus, appeared suddenly in the heavens, Sir Thomas Smith wondered could it be

¹ To "Monsieur Killigrew at the Court of the Majesty of the Queen of England." Orig: (French) S.P. Foreign, Eliz: CXXV. 125 (300).

² He prays Montgomery " (being for the present in England as I think), not only to communicate to her Majesty how things actually have come about, but also" (represent to her) "the compassion she should have, such a Princess as she is, and the peril which will promptly fall on her head "*si elle ne regarde plus prex a la revenche de ces villeines; veu que si le temps leur favorise il n'y a d'autre chose d'en esperer si non de voir en brieff la tragique ruine de tous les protestantz dedans Europe*."

He beseeches "*Monsieur le Counte*" to let him know in writing "*la simple verité du fait et combien de la noblesse y ont demeure, . . . Et par ainsy (mestimant un dex voz plus affectionez) je prie dieu vous faire la grace de vous tenir sur vos gardes contre les tyrannies des ennemies de son tressainct nom*."

Signed "Vostre bien bon et loyall amy a vre service treshumblement H. Gylberte." Endorsed "Sr H. Gilbert to my Ld to y^e Count montgomery. from ye Camp before tregouse." S.P. Foreign. Vol CXXV. No. 289. Calendared only in abstract. Now taken from orig:

"the soul of that brave Admiral of France," who had been so "basely murdered."¹ But the most significant tribute came from the warrior De La Noue, himself a notable incarnation of "valor and modestie." After a lament that Christians could not be turned from fratricidal wars and lay aside their differences in order to unite against their common foe the Turk, he wrote feelingly of the hard lot of the private soldier, which, however, could best be endured under a leader who was to be trusted. La Noue's "*Politicke and Militarie Discourses*" were to become as popular in England as among his own people; and long after the events, his heartfelt words kept Coligny-Chastillon in remembrance:

"Now if anie man . . . laboured sore, both in bodie and minde, we may saie it was the Admirall; for the waightiest part of the burthen of the affaires and military labours did he with great constancie and facilitie bear; as also bare him selfe as reverentlie among the Princes his superiours as modestlie with his inferiours.

"Godlines he always helde in great estimation, and bare greate love to justice: which made him to be esteemed and honoured of all that part which he had taken. He never ambitiously sought offices or honours; but, in eschewing them, was, in respect of his sufficiencie and honestie, forced to take them.

"When hee dealt with weapons he showed him selfe as skilful in them as anie Captaine of his time, and alwayes courageously hazarded himself to all daungers.

"In adversitie he was noted to be endued with magnanimity; and invention to get out; and shewed himself always free from glosing and dissimulation.

"In summe he was a man worthie to restore any weake and corrupte estate."²

The tragedy of more than one Monarch in the last half of the 16th century lay in his sacrificing his best champions to the malice of his worst advisers. The fault of Charles IX was less that he was innately wicked than that he was weak: a fatal quality for a King. Knowing the value to France and himself of the Grand Admiral, and personally admiring him,—moreover feeling some tenderness for the Huguenots because the only woman he loved, Marie Touchet, was of that sect,—the King nevertheless allowed his Medici mother to goad him into giving the order for the massacre.

There could have been no more devout daughter of the Church than his young Queen, Elisabeth of Austria, niece of Philip of Spain; but her intercession for the victims was of no avail, not even though she was expecting an heir to the Crown. As Walsingham had predicted, "Whatsoever 'our Mother'" desired became law; and on the shoulders of Queen Catherine rests the responsibility for such an orgy of blood as stained most deeply, and for ever, the honour of the House of Valois. The official pretence afterwards, that the Admiral had conspired against the Crown, was palpably absurd: for

"as touching the Admiral's supposed conspiracy, who can thinke it likely that hee should enterprise any such thing within the walles of Paris? For in the Court there is continual watching and warding a garrison of the Kings: and at the entry of his Castle the guard of Gascoignes, Scots and Switzers are continually attending; and the King himself, both alwayes before and especially

¹ "*The Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith*," by J.S. 1698, pp. 215-217. See App: C. And "*The Ancient and Present State of England*." Also unpublished S.P.D.E. 90. 12.

² "Thus much I thought good by the waie to saie of him, as having knowen and kept his companie, yea, and profited in his school." "*The Politicke and Militarie Discourses of the Lord de La Noue* . . . London . . . 1587." p. 453.

at that time by reason of his sister's marriage, had a great trayne of Princes, great Lords, noblemen and gentlemen about him.

Moreover it was knowne that in Paris within three houres space might be assembled and put in armour three score thousand chosen armed men, especially against the Admirall, whom no man is ignorant that the Parisians most deadly hated. . . ."

And what force had the Admiral at the time of the Massacre? On the fatal night he was in his bed: "sore of two so great wounds, aged, maimed of both his armes, the one whereof the Physitians consulted whether it was to be cut off." His personal following was but "three hundredth." Manifestly it was not with such a small attendance that the Admiral would have planned to "set upon three score thousand armed men." Moreover, if any plot on his part had been discovered, surely he was "so in the King's power that if it had pleased the King" he could at any moment have been taken to prison.

"Why was not orderly enquiry and judicial proceeding used according to the custome and lawes and general right of Nations . . . ?"

And even supposing the Admiral had been suspected of conspiracy, why did the King sanction "the outrageous cruelty upon the rest that were innocent"?:

"why upon noble Ladies and young Gentlewomen and Virgins that came thither for the honour of the wedding? Why were so many women great with child, against the Lawes of all Nations and of nature, before their delivery thrown into the River?

"Why were so many aged persons, many that lay sick in their beds, many gowne-men, many Counsellors, Advocates, Proctors, Physitians, many singularly learned professores and teachers of good Artes, and among the rest Petrus Recamus, that renowned man throwout the world: and many young Students executed without mercy. . . . ?"

These and other questions were provoked by the Queen-Mother's effort to throw the blame upon the victims.

"The offender never pardons"; and not content with slaying the Grand Admiral, it was decreed that "his armes and ensignes of honour" should be broken, "*his memory condemned, his Castles and farms razed, his children pronounced infamous and unnoble, . . . and all the trees in his woods to be hewn down.*"

Among those of his following arrested were some who had served "in the old warres" of King Francis and King Henry; especially the Sieur Briquemault, "a man of great experience among the best now living" who was "neare about three score and ten years old" (who had visited Ambrose Earl of Warwick in Havre nine years before). He and others were threatened with

"torture, and tearing their bodies in pieces, unless they would presently subscribe with their owne hand that they were of counsell with the Admirall to kill the King and his brethren, and the Queen Mother, and the King of Navarre.

"They all cried out that they were ready to suffer death" and "exceeding great pains, rather than shame them selves with so great shame or confess an untrue crime"

They were "quickly condemned by a shadowed forme of law, and led to the gibbet standing in the principal street of the Towne; and in sight of many thousands of men . . . (executed). *To this spectacle the Queen Mother led the King and her other sonnes and her sonne in law the King of Navarre.*"

¹ "A Patterne of Popish Peace . . . Beginning in Articles, Leagues, Oathes, and a Marriage. And ending in a bloody Massacre . . ." 1644. pp. 89-93. ² Op: cit: p. 98.

Briquemault was advised to beg for his life, and assured that if he would confess the plot he should receive pardon on the scaffold:

"he answered with a valiant and bold courage that it was not his part but the Kings to ask pardon of God for his fault; and that he would never crave forgiveness" for an offence of which he knew himself "cleere and innocent. *Nevertheless he besought God to forgive the King.*"

He and his chief friend and companion, "these two excellent and famous men," one of them seventy years of age, were then hanged, in company with an effigy of the Admiral.

The same day the King's only child was born: a girl and therefore ineligible for the Crown. In Lord Burghley's Chronology is set down without comment, "*October 27. The Queene of Fraunce delyvred of a daughter. Eodem die Monsieur Brykmault and Cavagny beheaded at Pariss.*"

The apparent incongruity of the Queen of England being godmother to the French King's child, and still considering a possible French marriage, while at the same time allowing her subjects to assist Montgomery and the Huguenots after the massacre, was theme for comment at the time; and is yet a subject for discourses (in which Her Majesty's seamen are called "pirates" by modern English writers who echo the enemy's epithets).

In the spring of 1573, reports were spread of how the Duke of Alba and his Navy had fared in effort to victual Middleburgh; and that "the Conte of Montgomery is departed forth of the West part of England with seven score Ships, which by the Healpe of the Queene of England, as by the assistance of sundry other ships and Pyrates joynt to him; and minds either to support Rochell, or take some other Isle . . ."

Actually the Duke of Alba early in March had signed Articles of Agreement with Lord Burghley, at last settling the dispute of 1568-9. And the same month Montgomery with certain English ships had gone to Rochelle; Walsingham receiving instructions from Burghley to take a strong tone at the French Court, and let it be felt that despite the Peace of Blois, England would be able to fight if necessary.

This firmness had the result of making the Crown of France the more desirous of England's friendship. And as to accusations of countenancing piracy, Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich on the 29th June (1573) issued a Commission "to our Right Trustie and Welbeloved Cousin and Counsailler Therle of Lincoln, our High Admiral of England":

"Whereas we do understand that certain Pirates are come into our narrow Seas, keeping their Courses and Haunts between Dover and Calais, and so to the Mouth of our River of Thames, and

¹ Op: cit: pp. 99-102. ² *State Papers*. ed: Murdin. p. 773.

³ 6 May, 1573. "A Letter from one that was sent from them of the Castell of Edinburg to the French King, to sollicite Ayde for them, deciphered the 15th of August predict. 6 May 1573," is among Lord Burghley's MSS. *State Papers*, Murdin, pp. 246-255. See S.P.F. cxxvii, ff. 45^b and 46^a, Burghley's "Platt of Rochelle."

the Costs thereabouts, whereby the quiet Traffic and passage of our Merchants is very much impeached, and their Goods spoiled: we therefore desiring to have with speed these public Evils and Annoyances removed, and perceiving that for the good will you do bear to Justice, *you do offer at your own Charges, to set forth to the Sea three or four Ships to apprehend and bring . . . to Justice these Pirates*, do not only take in very good part this your offer; but also . . . do give you full Authority and Power to set forth and send to the Seas Ships and Vessels to the number aforesaid, equipped and furnished in warlike Manner as for this Purpose you shall think necessary; and also . . . to cause both victual, Mariners and Soldiers to be taken up and provided in such Quantity and Number as you shall think meet . . . And further we are pleased that you shall take and use for this enterprise our Ship called the Primrose. . . ."¹

This has been in print since 1759; but we are still given countless stories about English "privateers"—a word then unknown in the English language;—and the fighting they did in the Narrow Seas is treated as daring but disreputable; *the Commission from the Sovereign to the Lord High Admiral being forgotten*.

In 1573-4, at a time when Queen Elizabeth's relations with France were strained, she received the good news that the Duke of Alba, whose appointment as Governor General of the Netherlands in 1567 had so perturbed her, was at last returning into Spain. Colonel Roger Williams, who had then lately fought against him, related subsequently how the "Duke d'Alva" had petitioned King Philip either to allow him "treasure and meanes more plentifully . . . or give him leave to retire himself." And soon afterwards "order came from the King to the Duke "to resigne his place unto Don Lewis de Requesence, Commendator-Major de Castillia; a soldier of great reputation for counsaile, but nobody for execution, as the battaille of Lepanto could witness," when Don Luis had urged Don John not to fight the Turks but to parley. Williams bluntly states that for this the Commendator was "reputed a coward." "But belike in respect of his wit and mildnesse the King sent him into the Lowe Countries; perhaps persuaded that a milde captaine would winne the hearts of the people" better than the stern Duke of Alba.

Williams's own opinion was that "*both King and Councill deceived themselves*" in imagining Don Lewis would be a fit substitute for the renowned Alba: "*by all reason, if the Duke had been royally maintained as he ought, he had made his master absolute King over all the seventeen provinces.*"

Such a tribute of an English warrior, who had then served recently against the Duke's forces, is significant.² Testifying to the determination of the Northern Dutch not to "yeeld to any composition," Williams declares that "*furie and resolution*" were the only means by which the Spaniards could "*suppresse that nation*":

¹ "For the Lord Admirall to go agaynst Pyrates. 29 June, 1573." Spelling modernised from *State Papers*, Murdin. p. 257.

² But (like nearly all the most important testimonies of Elizabethan officers) it escapes notice. Moreover it is usual to echo Wood's allegation (based on Camden) that Sir Roger Williams "became a soldier of fortune under the Duke of Alva" (instead of against him). (*Athenae* I. p. 282); and this error was repeated by Scott in 1809, even while prefacing William's own narrative. (Vide Note, E.E., p. 200.)

"For whether the people bee strongly situated or not, wealthie or poore, few or great, . . ." they are "not willing (as I said before) to be brought into any composition but such as pleaseth themselves"; so "*God help that Prince or State that must be forced to compound with such a people by any means but by the sword: which had been far more easie in the hands of Duke d'Alva than of the poore Commendator.*"¹ But the emulation among the Counsellors . . . overthrew that service. . . . The Spanish priests, namely Cardinall Granvill, the bishop of Toledo, . . . *did persuade the King that Duke d'Alva was too great a subject. By such means, rather than any other, Duke d'Alva was called home . . .*"²

If the Duke considered he had been ungratefully treated by his Sovereign, he was too proud to give any sign of discontent. His rendering of the situation to Queen Elizabeth was that his retirement was by his own wish. In addressing her, it is to be noticed that he ignored not only the Pope's Bull and Declaration of 1569-70, forbidding Catholics to recognise her right and title, but also he chose not to remember her dismissal of Don Guerau Despes in December 1571. If we were to read only the following letter (now first published), and were not acquainted with the circumstances, we would never suspect that there was then no Ambassador from Spain in England, nor that Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Colonel Thomas Morgan, and Colonel Roger Williams, had been fighting so lately as 1572 against the Spanish Army while it was commanded by the Duke himself.

"*De Bruxelles le XV^e Jour de Decembre 1573*" to the "*Treshaulte Tresexcellente et Trespuissante Princesse la Royne d'Angleterre, de France et Irelande*" he wrote,

"For a long while I have solicited and prayed continually to the King my master that in consideration of my advanced age and my indisposition he would permit me to go and seek (health); which at last he is content to do; and sends here as my successor the Grand Commander of Castille: so I now make ready shortly to set out on my way to Spain.

"This I will not do without first kissing your Majesty's hands by the Baron d'Aubigny the bearer of this; who will present my very humble recommendations to your good Grace, and assure you that wheresoever I may be I will always be your humble servant; as I have prayed the Baron to say to your Majesty more fully. . . ."³

¹ In "*A True Discourse Historicall*" (1602, p. 20) by Thomas Churchyard, based on Van Meteren, the situation is rendered thus:

"About the 20 of August in the said yeere 1573, . . . Don Fernando Duke of Alua (partly his crueltie being by the King perceived, and partly by the States of the Netherlands complained upon, leaving his said sonne to gouerne and beare arms for the King) with a convenient retinue departeth out of these Countries, not without many a curse, banning and exclamation made upon him for his farewell, whe(n) he had so there tyrannized about the space of 6 yeeres little more or lesse. Vide Hieronymū Conestagium in Historia Portugaliae."

The work alluded to is the "*Istoria*" etc. 1585, (in Italian) described II. 4 () App: infra.

² "*The Actions of the Lowe Countries*," posthumously published 1618 (B.M.G. 5957.) Reprint, Lord Somers' Tracts, Vol. I. p. 376. ed. W. Scott, 1809.

³ Now first translated from orig: P.R.O. (S.P.F.) not holograph: except date, last line, and signature. "*De Vostre Ma^{te} Bien humble Seruiteur Le duc d'alua*" Endorsed "*1573 Rec: by her Ma^{te} from the Duc d^e Alva the XVII^j of Januarie dated the XVth of december.*" And in another hand "*From the D. of Alva in commendation of de Requesens to succeed him in his gouernment. A.*"

Although the Duke refers to his "advanced age" and his failing health,¹ his most important service to his King was still ahead. In 1580, aged seventy-two, he was yet to be victor in a brief but decisive campaign, the results of which were so to change the map of Europe that when we see the full particulars we will recognise his final action in Portugal as one of the most far reaching in the whole of history.² But in 1574 the Portuguese Empire seemed too powerful and vast to be in danger; least of all did it appear menaced from Spain. The attention of Europe was directed mainly towards France, where the King had been failing increasingly in mind and body ever since the frenzy of August 1572. The aid given afterwards by Englishmen to the remnants of the Huguenot party,—the fashion in which, despite the Treaty of Blois, Queen Elizabeth permitted help to be sent by her subjects to His Majesty's "rebels"; the diplomatic complexities between the Sovereigns, and the open antagonisms of the English masses to the possibility of a French marriage of their Queen,—all this is an oft-told tale.

At Pentecost (3rd of June) 1574, at two o'clock in the afternoon King Charles IX ended his reign of thirteen years.

The Queen Mother Catherine was proclaimed Regent the next day, pending the arrival of her second son the King of Poland, Henry Duke of Anjou, Queen Elizabeth's former suitor.

As Henry III, the Prince came back into a country brought low by internecine strife. The contrast between the miseries of France, torn and impoverished by "wars of religion," and England where such fratricidal fighting had lasted only a few weeks in the north in 1569, was a frequent theme for satisfaction from Her Majesty's Ministers. And the improved condition of literature and learning in England was mainly attributed to the strong policy which had ensured peace at home by being ready to fight abroad.

¹ "*mon hault eage et Indisposition.*"

² II, 4, 7 (Vol. IV). But so little is the Battle of Alcántara now remembered, that a recent English work (1928) treats the Duke as broken and disgraced in 1572, and thenceforth of no account in European politics.

R

treshaute tresexcellence et trespuissante Princesse
 Je y a les temps que j'ay
 fust come au commandement de vos maties, dont y ay veu les lettres de commandement et de provision
 par lesquelles le grand commandeur de Castille des faces qui de un d'iceux par de l'autre par un autre
 et y ay voulu faire sans aucunement en avoir fait besoin, mais les vouldes de ma part par le
 de l'ordonnance de celle de luy par les lettres de provision et de commandement par le grand commandeur
 qui en que soy lez luy sans aucunement en avoir fait besoin, mais les vouldes de ma part par le
 de l'ordonnance de celle de luy par les lettres de provision et de commandement par le grand commandeur

Treshaute tresexcellence et trespuissante Princesse, Je vous en rends compte, De Bruxelles
 le 15^e jour de Decembre 1573
 De Vre Matie

Bien humble seruiteur

Philippe de Alba

The Duke of Alba, Governor General of the Netherlands: to Queen Elizabeth.

Now first reproduced from the unpublished original, State Papers Foreign, 1573.

Not holograph, except the date and "De V(ost)re Matie Bien humble seruiteur Le Duq de Alua."

Docketed, "1573 Rec: by her Matie from the Duc de Alva the XVIIJ of januarie dated the XV of december":
 and in another hand "From the D. of Alva in commendation of De Requesens to succeed him in his gouernment. A."

The "Gran Duque" is loftily affable, despite the lack of any Spanish Ambassador in London, and although English troops under Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Colonel Morgan, and Colonel Roger Williams had been fighting at Flushing and Tergoes the previous year against King Philip's forces, of which the Duke himself was Commander in Chief.

In Camden's "Annals," first published 1615, Sir Roger Williams is described as having fought under the Duke of Alba in the Netherlands; whereas he fought against the Duke; as Williams's own work, "The Actions of the Low Countries," relates. His comments upon this General's character have been overlooked until now. As in 1591 we shall find Williams, when Marshal of the Army, quoting a precedent of the "Duke d'Alva," his observations should receive attention.

SIR ROGER WILLIAMS'S EXPERIENCE OF "THE SPANISH DISCIPLINE."

A statement made at Oxford, by Anthony à Wood, in the 17th century, that Sir Roger Williams had been "a soldier of fortune under the Duke of Alba,"¹ was reiterated in the introductory notes to the 1809 reprint of "*The Actions of the Lowe Countries Written by Sir Roger Williams, Knight.*"² This has been repeated ever since; though Williams's own narrative shows that his services during the Duke of Alba's Governorship of the Netherlands were not for but against that eminent General. It was only after Alba had been recalled to Spain that Williams experienced "the Spanish discipline."

In his own words:

"Colonel Morgan being arrived in England, with his regiment in good order, to the number of 700," they were "mustered before her Majestie neere to St. James," and then "the Colonel and some 400 of his best men were sent into Ireland: which in truth were the first perfect harquebushiers that were of our nation, and the first troopes that taught our nation to like the musket, as I said in my little discourse of the Spanish discipline."³

Having intended to serve with them in Ireland, Williams heard that the young Prince de Condé, "newly escaped from France into Germany," intended to levy an army. This news, and the "desire to travaile to see strange warres," caused him to hasten towards the Prince. Finding on arrival in Germany that there was no such army levied; and running short of money, he turned homewards: "passing from Colen⁴ towards Antwerpe, and entring Lire in Brabant, I was brought before the master of the campe, Julian Romero, who, amongst many questions, enquired of me what nobleman in England I knew best? I answered, the Earle of Pembroke, whom I served (as) a page. He replied, *What? he that was Generall of the English before S. Quintin? I never honoured any man more.* And withall requested me earnestly to trye his courtesie in the Spanish Army: assuring me (leave) to depart when pleased me. Having spent all my crownes, and being loth to return into England without seeing something, I promised to stay . . .": as "*there was no dispute betwixt her Majestie and the Spanish King, to my knowledge.*"

(Actually there had been no Spanish Ambassador in London since the expulsion of Don Guerau Despes in December 1571.)

"This was the manner and the first hower that I entered into the Spanish service," says Williams, after having given what he conceived to be the reasons for the Great Duke's recall to Spain.

Williams's experiences of "wonderful hot fights" under Spanish command, his praises of Julian Romero and "Santio d'Avila," and also his testimonies to the valour and energy of the adversary "Nassawians" are now almost forgotten. But he claims that "the battell of Romerswall"—in which the Spanish Navy was beaten back, when trying to relieve Middelburgh,—was one of the most "furious" contests ever known:

"I will dispute against any souldier, that no fight hath been comparable unto it by sea these five hundred yeares; saving that before Sluce, fought by our famous King Edward the Third, against the French King and the Earle of Flanders, and that of Lepanta."⁴

¹ *Athenae*, I. 282. ² Lord Somers' *Tracts*. Ed. W. Scott. I. 329.

² viz., "*A Briefe Discourse of Warre.*" Not printed till 1590. Title-page under date.

³ Cologne.

⁴ Op: cit, p. 382. Thus ends Sir Roger Williams's posthumously published "*Actions of the Lowe Countries*," as issued in 1618, 23 years after his death. The above must have been written prior to 1582, when the Marqués de Santa Cruz and Philip Strozzi at the Azores were antagonists in a fight described in 1585 as "one of the greatest that ever happened within the bounds of the Ocean."

“GREAT TRYUMPH AND JOYE”:

Forgotten Tidings from the siege of Harlem, 1573.

Never reprinted since its first issue in April, 1573, while the siege was still in process, the newsletter ensuing has now been transcribed, by courtesy of the Duke of Berwick and Alba, from one which appears to have been sent to the Great Duke at the time of publication.

In 20th century England and America the copy in the Henry Huntington Library, California, is commonly regarded as the only surviving example; though in 1898 brief reference was made in the Duchess of Berwick and Alba's "*Catálogo de las colecciones expuestas en las vitrinas del Palacio de Liria*," (No: 191, p. 186), to this tract, "Trad. inglesa del original flamenco. Adjunta una trad. msa. del S. xvi. . . curiosa relacion se atribuyen la victoria los protestantes."

In extenso, it is here inset after Vol. II of "*Elizabethan England*" had been printed off. Because of its extreme rarity it was among treasures concealed for safety during the disorganised years 1931–33, while the burning of valuable archives, and of other relics of a renowned past, was a form of "*progress*" introduced into Spain by universal enemies of culture. That this "*true rehearsal*" pamphlet, 1573, could not be included in the list of Contents of this volume was because of the uncertainty of being able to procure it. It was not taken out of concealment till 27th December, 1933, and transcript despatched on the 30th. Future history will record how on the 19th–20th of November, 1933, the Duke of Berwick and Alba presided for 23 hours on end over an election table in Madrid, and on the 3rd of December for 13 hours; and how on 21st November he expressed his conviction that the "deeply-ingrained traditions" of patriotism and "all that is meant by civilisation" were destined to outlast all efforts of destroyers to overthrow them.¹

Typical of an age when, on the one side and the other, most men felt acutely and acted strongly on their convictions,—and even the bitterest adversaries had qualities in common, such as readiness to hazard life and possessions for their principles,—this expression of "Tryumph and Joye" of the defenders of Harlem reads ironically now when we know they were fated to defeat in the end. But it was a siege in which the vanquished and victors alike showed such vigour of spirit that they won each others' admiration in a martial capacity, even while fiercely differing as to politics and theology.

In "*The Time Table of Modern History Compiled and Arranged by M. Morison*," 1901, the "*Siege of Haarlem*" (p. 87), is dated "Dec., 1572–Jan., 1573." But actually the protracted and stubborn defence, and the difficulties experienced by the Spaniards in their struggle to take the "noble City," were not only of European notoriety in their day, but gave rise to anecdotes current for nearly a century after: for example, the rebuke alleged to have been addressed to Don Fadrique Alvarez de Toledo by his stern father the Duke of Alba. As retrospectively narrated by Father Strada, S.J.,

"Harlam . . . which Federico [D. Fadrique] had atacked . . . not onely with scorne rejected the pardon he offered them, but receiving a new Garrison from the Enemy, . . . held out eight months siege. . . . In so much as Federick despairing of successe would have returned into Brabant, but that Alva grievously offended, . . . wrote to him that "if he thought of going, he himselfe, though he were carried in his bed, would come, or (in case his sicknesse so increased that he were not able to remove) he would send for his Wife out of Spaine, and give her a Commission to be General instead of his son." But though the young Duke² . . . used all kindes of Stratagems to take the Towne, yet they, every day more bold and stubborne, omitted nothing defensive or offensive, dayly shewing their contempt by new reproachful and insolent expressions."

This is from one of the bitterest enemies of Protestantism.³ Now let us see the contest through the eyes of a Hollander who hoped that the "Houreglasse" of Spanish rule had "runne out and ended," and that the "Albanists" (soldiers of the Great Duke) were discomfited for ever. Be it observed that though Alba had signed Burghley's Articles of Agreement on the 5th of March, this did not prevent the circulation in English of a protest against "Spanysh tirannie":—

¹ See "*The Daily Telegraph*," 22 Nov: 1933, and "*The Patriot*," Vol. XXV. N.S., No. 617, p. 453.

² Retrospective; not Duke till the end of 1582.

³ "*De Bello Belgico. The History of the Low-Country Warres. Written in Latine by Famianus Strada: In English by Sr. Rob. Staplyton, Kt.*," London, 1650, Book 7, p. 78. And "*Famiani Stradae Romani de Societate Jesu De Bello Belgico*," 1651, Lib: Septimus, p. 252.

A true rehersall
of the Honorable & Tryūphant
Victory: which the defenders of the
Trueth have had againste the
tyranical and bloodthirsty
heape of y^e Albanists.
Which came to passe withoute
the worthye Cyttie of Harlam
in Holland, the xxv. daye of
Marche. 1573.
Translated out of Dutch into
Englishe the thyrde of Apryll.
Which Dutsch Copy was
Printed at Delfte the
xxvii. dav of March
laste paste.
Printed by Richard Ione[s].
the xxix day of Apryll, 1573.
Of such things
as are come to passe at the siege
of Harlam in Holland: the
xxv daye of Marche.
1573.

Although all thynges (welbeloued and christian Reader) whiche by the grace of God, are come to passe wth the renowned Citie of Harlam in Holand, are worthy, not by pecces, but from the beginning vnto the end to bee rehearsed, and set before the eyes of all men: that the wonderful and worthy works of God therby may bee known, and his name for euer magnified and praised. Notwithstandynge, (I thought it good) before the whole Discourse and rehearsall of all these thynges (peraduenture) shal bee geuen vnto all Nations and people to bee red, heere shortly to noate (and that with trueth), vnto all such as are louers of the same, notable worke of God, and suche a deede of the moste highest, that euen with our eyes, we maye see and perceiue that which he worthyly hath brought to passe, the xxv. Daye of Marche, 1573, by them of the same Citie.

For, when as that worthy and beforenamed Cytie, had now been besieged of the Spanish and Albanishe power more then three Monethes, and in great distresse: howbeit, the ennemyes hauynge their head twise mightly brused and their worthiest and stoutest oulde Souldyers, yea and manyest Captaynes weere loste: so that their weakenesse and feare suffred them not any more to geue any assault: Besides that, shame and neede forced them styll to abyde: For shame, they durste not go away, because that thus long they had alwayes prospered very well: and beyng now come to this Cytte, whiche was the simplest and weakest in all Holland, and at the firste, worste of all prouyded: eyther of Armour, Souldyers, or Vittayle, amongst the rest, that was to be founde: And therefore, not able (as it weare) to to doo any thyng. And for that cause, (as they supposed) should it be counted vnto them an euer lastynge ignomyne and shame, with a perpetuall Dishonour.

And for neede, they durste not departe, (for feare) leaste by the waye, they should be mette with at home, meanyng therefore a contynuall Siege, and priuie practises and treason: lyke as before they had recouered other Cities again, ment in lyke case to catch this within their Clawes also. But at the last, when they of the Cyttie began to be greued therwith, and were certain, that God dyd manifestly vnderstande their cause, and that he was the onely Defender of the same, (as hee is in deede, to all innocentes which wholly put their truste in him:) thei haue often and diuers times gone about with sudrie assaultes and Skyrmysshes, for to trappe (not onely theirs but also Gods Enemies), in the same pittes, which for their Destructiō, theyr Enemies, had redye dygged and prouyded. And although, that they neuer haue attempted any thyng, but that they haue thereby gotten both Honour and prayse: yet neuerthelesse, when God at their great pryde and intollerable Tirrannie and crueltie: and to be shorte, at all the wronges whiche thei had vsed day by day, begā

at length to be greued with the vngodly behauiour of these Bloodhounds, so that their Houreglasse at last is runne out and ended :

For then, the good and mercyfull Lorde hath deliuered them into the handes of his people, to be taken in y^e same snares which they had prepared for the other.

For, they of the Cytie aboute ten of the Clocke before Noone, with a smal company were gone out of the Cytie to skirmish with the xvi. Ensignes of Dutchmen, and the xv. Ensigns of Wallons, whiche did lye before in the wood at the South ende of the Cytie, from the whiche place, they had purposed from that tyme forth to batter the Cytie with shotte.

And thus, they beyng withoute in the forenoone, brought speciallie nothyng to passe : but marchynge vp and downe a certayne space, and when they saw their tyme to retyre, entred into the Cytie agayne.

When the Ennemie sawe this, and supposynge it too bee good, and all daunger to bee paste, and all thynges ended for that daye : (after a whyle) gaue hym selfe to reste, and sette his heart on soft grounde. Then (in the meane tyme), our men makynge them selues cheereful and couragious, and hauynge respecte vnto their tyme and purpose, (and chieflie) vnto their just quarrell : So that of Wallons, Dutchemen, Frenchmen, Englishmen : aboute, ix. or a x. hundred men, aboute two of the Clocke in the afternoone, yssued oute of the Cytie agayne, and without any stoppe or feare, and without any noyse makynge, ranne strayght vnto their Trenches. The Enemie, seynge that he was taken vnawares, and his Enemies vnlookte for, sodaynly fallen vpon hym, at the first defended hymselfe very litle : And at laste seynge hymselfe inclosed and ouerrunne, by and by sought meanes, whiche waye best for to escape. Our men (to the contrarye), with burnynge and vnspeakeable boldnesse, fell vpon them, and so raysted them oute of their Nestes and chased them, that they ranne thorowe and thorowe the wood, hither and thither : that of all the Dutchmen, whiche (indeede) best kept their standynge, but fewe escaped : And of the Wallones which first tooke the flight, there are some runne awaye, some slayne with shotte, and some drowned : being al bereft of their Weapon : and as the moste parte say, about two thousand men were slayne.

And it is sayd also, of one Monsieur de Ltickes, Generall of the Wallons, with other Captaynes should there be stayne also at that present. This beyng done, they haue ouertourned their Tentes and Trenches, and set them on fire, pursuynge them to the laste man : And then returnyng with great Tryumph and Joye, brought with them into the Cytie, fyue Brasen Peeeces, with other Munition : as Headpeeeces, Harnesse, Pikes, Dagges, Swordes and Rapiers, with vittayle and Money, which was sent frō Dalba, to pay them : and also great store and much abūdance of Apparell. For at their retyryng to the Citie was heard viii. of their Drōmes therefully soundyng, with tenne Ensignes displaying, bryngyng with them great spoyles of Money, Jewelles and Armour, and all kynde of thynges, wherewith euery one being loden : with great Joye, came all clustryng into the Citte. When the Cytizyns, with all them y^e feared the Lord, sawe how that they had obtayned the Victorie, and had put their Foes to flight, with one consent gaue hartie thankes and praises vnto God, that so mercifullie of his goodnesse, had brought the same to pass. This also, hath moued me and reioysed my hart and mynde, that I (euen of gladnesse) coulede not leaue, but participate this vnto the gentle Reader and to make manifest and set before the eyes of all such as from their hartes doe hate the intollerable yoke of bondage and Spanysh tyrannie : and with body and goods seeke to withstande them. The Lorde open the eyes of them that are yet remaynyn, that they may acknowledge their vnjuste dealyngs and returne from their euil and turne vnto the lyuynge God againste whom them haue waged Batel : that they with vs and al faithful people may liue in peace and vnitie from this time forth for euermore : whiche God also graunt vs and all sorowfull and sighinge hartes Amen.

Written in haste to all the faithfull through loue. From Delft the 27. day of Marche, 1573.

FINIS.

But it was still far from the end. As Father Strada rendered it ("*De Bello Belgico*," Lib : 7),

"The Siege of Harlem was memorable for many Passages. They revived the antient invention of Carrier Pidgeons. . . . By those winged postes the Prince of Orange encouraged the townsmen to hold out for the last three months : till one of them [pigeons], tired with flying, lighted upon a Tent, and being shot by a Souldier, ignorant of the Stratagem, the Mystery of the Letters was discovered. After that accident, no Pidgeon could fly over the Leaguer . . . but the Souldiers

would strive who should kill her." Still there was no thought of surrender. "The Harlemer" women "were imboldened to do Souldiers Duties at the Bulwarks, . . . to the no less encouragement of their owne men than admiration of their Enemy." The Townsmen, "notwithstanding that they had lost three great Armies," and had hardly any shelter left within their Walls, "shot through, as they say, in ten thousand three hundred and sixty places, yet would not heare of a Treaty. . . ." And though reduced so low, the few still "so well performed the duties of many," that if any of King Philip's men appeared "never so little above the Trenches, they were in a moment taken off with Musket-bullets. . . ." Wherefore Spanish soldiers "partly to make them spend their powder would many times put their [own] Helmets upon faggot-sticks, so that they might be seen but to cock above the Works, which in an instant were shot at and hit by the Besieged. Lastly though they were enforced by famine, for the last two months, to eat mice, old shoes, and every nasty thing," yet the men wished to sally out and die fighting rather than surrender, had not "their Wives and Children, with pittifull Shriekes and imbraces stayed them."

In August they capitulated; but the losses had been extremely heavy to the conquerors; and both sides claimed to have acquitted themselves with the vigour, persistence, fortitude and self-forgetfulness which were the very essence of a "Souldier's" vocation. That the newsletter issued while the Dutch garrison seemed to be winning, has been preserved among the possessions of the House of Alba, while disappearing from England, is one more illustration of a principle in historical research which—systematically pursued—will be found to yield far-reaching results, especially in relation to the 16th century,—viz: when we cannot find at home what we want for completion of our story, *enquire in Spain*.¹

¹ In the Royal Library at the Hague there is a pamphlet describing the siege from the 8th December, 1572, until the 16th of February, 1573. See Knuttel's Catalogue, pt. I, No. 201: "*Historie ende een waerachtich Verhael van al die dinghen, die gheshist eijn, van dach tot dach, in die lofweerdichste ende vermaerste stadt van Hollandt, Haerlem ghenoeft, in dien tijt als die van den Hertoge van Alba beleghert was. Verhalende van dē achtsen dach des maents December, des jaers MD.LXXII tot den XVI Februerii anno MD.LXXIII Eerst in Latijn ende na in Nederlantsche sprake overghesdet.*"

Psalm 127. 2." [quoted].

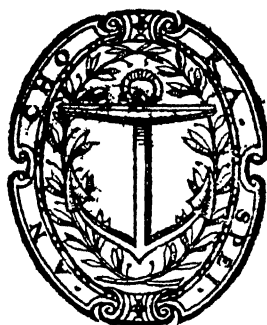
"*Ghedruct Tot Delft, in 't jaer ons Heedren MD.LXXIII.*" (Ends:—"tot Delft, In't Jaer ons Heeren MD.LXXIII den XVIII Februrii. Io. Arc. F. Finis.")

The Duke of Alba's pamphlet seems to be translated from a continuation of the above named; but the Dutch original of the "*true rehearsal*" is not now known to exist.

THE LYFE OF THE
MOST GODLY, VALE-
ANT AND NOBLE CAP-
taine and maintener of the trew Christi-
an Religion in Fraunce,

*I ASPER COLIGNIE SHATI-
lion, sometyme greate Admirall of Fraunce.*

Translated out of Latin by Arthur
Golding.



Imprinted at London by Tho-
mas Vautrollier,

1576.

Title-page of Golding's translation (B.M. 276. e. 27) of *Gasparis Colinii magni quondam Franciae amirallii vita*, 1575: not translated into French until 1643.

APPENDIX A.

CONTEMPORARY WORKS ON THE LIFE AND DEATH OF
THE GRAND ADMIRAL OF FRANCE.

The earliest publication, in Latin, the year after the Massacre, signed "Ernestus Varamundus"—pseudonym of Francis Hotman—was translated into English the same year, and published at Stirling: "*A true and plaine report of the Furious outrages of Fraunce, and the horrible and shameful slaughter of Chastillion the Admirall, and diuers other Noble and excellent men, and of the wicked and strange murder of godlie persons, committed in many Cities of Fraunce, without any respect of sort, kinde, age, or degree. By Ernest Varamund of Freseland. At Striveling in Scotlande 1573.*"¹

In 1575 there appeared without name of author, or place of printing, "*Gasparis Colinii magni quondam Franciae amirallis vita.*" This seems not to have been translated into French till 1643.² But in 1576 it was "translated out of Latin by Arthur Golding": "*The Lyfe of the most Godly, Valiant and Noble Captaine and Maintener of the trew Christian Religion in France, IASPER COLIGNIE SHATILION, some time great Admirall of France.*"³

"The young Duke of Gwyse" and the Grand Admiral, were both of exalted birth, both "meetly tall" and handsome, and both could handle a sword with more than average vigour. But they were remarkably unlike; for though the Duke had in him the making of a fine soldier, personal ambition and a thirst for power were blended in him with "Italianate" delight in intrigue; on his mother's side he inherited the blood and soul of the Borgias. But Admiral de Coligny-Chastillon was not a politician;

¹ 3 pp. of Translator's Preface "To the Reader," beginning on verso of title page. Then A2 and a page unnumbered. The work itself begins on p. v, and continues to p. cxliii; ends with blank verso of that page. The translation is into English not Scottish (B.M. 596.a.15). Reprinted, *Harl: Miscell.*: vol. 7, 1744 (185.a.11); *Harl: Miscell.*: vol. 7, 1808 (2082.d.). This is from "*De furoribus Gallicis, horrendâ atque indignâ Amirallis Castilionei nobilium atque illustrium virorum caede sceleratâ ac inauditâ piorum strage, passim edita per complures Galliae civitates, &c., vera & simplex narratio.*"

B.M. has 3 copies of the Latin original "*De Furoribus*," published at Edinburgh, 1573; another Edinburgh edition of same year; one copy of the Latin published at London 1573; one copy of French translation, Basle, 1573. See also G. 9859, "*tragica historia de miseranda laniena . . . anno MDLXXII . . . in . . . urbe Parisina . . . edicta . . .*" Anon: queried in B.M. Cat: as issued in 1600. And "*Hist: tragica de furoribus Gallicis*," reissued in "*Origo et historia Belgicorum tumultuum*," 1609 and 1641.

² "*La Vie de Messire Gaspar de Colligny, Seigneur de Chastillon, Amiral de France. A Laquelle sont adiuste ses Memoires sur Ce que passe au Siege de S. Quentin. A Leyde Chez Bonaventure et Abraham Elzevir. Anno 1643.*" Reissued 1646 and 1665. 4½ x 2¾ inches. Separate title page for 2nd part, in which page numbers begin again and are on both sides. Part I pages only numbered on one side. Dedication "*A Monseigneur le Mareschal de Chastillon*," signed D.L.H., dated "*A Paris, 25 Nov. 1642*".

See Bersier's *Coligny*, trans: Holmden, 1884, pp. xxxii-xxxvi, for excellent Note on the authorship of the "*Vita Colinii*," correcting its erroneous date of the Admiral's birth, (1517; should be 1519); and also dismissing for adequate reasons the idea that the anonymous "*Vita*" was by Francis Hotman ("Ernestus Varamundus") the author of "*De Furoribus*," 1573.

³ Blackletter (except title page here first reproduced). B.M. No. 276 E. 27. Pages not numbered. Arthur Golding thirteen years later was chosen by Philip Sidney to finish his English rendering of "*La Verité de La Religion Chrestienne*" written by the Huguenot Philippe de Mornay, Sieur du Plessis, who had been in Paris during the fatal August 1572, but had been enabled to escape through the aid of a compassionate Catholic.

and had few if any complexities of temperament. The force and dignity of his character, combining moral with physical courage, his consistency, frankness and chivalry were reminiscent of a nobler era: "*For moral and heroic virtues he had no equal. Great Councillor, great Captain, brave soldier, good servant of the King his Master, and yet better servant of God. . .*"¹

Born in 1519 of renowned ancestry and great traditions on both sides (his mother was of the ducal house of Montmorency,) Gaspard de Coligny almost from his cradle had been treated by his parents less as a baby than as a future leader of men. At the age of three he "perfectly understood" simple military evolutions taught to him by means of toy soldiers made of ivory; his father the Marshal de Chastillon delighting in his ardour.² Between the three brothers, Odet, afterwards Cardinal; François, subsequently Colonel-General of the Infantry; and Gaspard the future Grand Admiral, there was marked resemblance. All three were vigorous, handsome and promising; but Gaspard was the favourite of his father, who, dying when the child was five, prophesied for him a great career. The boys' uncle, the famous Constable, Anne, Duke of Montmorency, at first attributed this to paternal love, but soon recognised in Gaspard such ability and application as should carry him far in the service of his Country.³

Measured by 16th century standards, there is nothing incredible in these retrospective stories; for the training of noble personages then began almost "as soon as they could speak." The early distinction to which so many attained, though partly due to personal force and fire, was aided by the general belief that the younger a child began to learn, the easier would be his task and the better the results. All three brothers Coligny-Chastillon typify the value of that system; for far from being stunted, weakened, or overloaded by the way they were bred to look forward to great labours and exertions, they grew into three of the strongest and handsomest men in France.

The earliest glimpse of Gaspard de Coligny, at three years of age, manoeuvring his ivory soldiers, to the joy of his father; and the last scene when at fifty-three, broken and defenceless, he was not able even to draw sword or rise from his chair to meet the coward blows of the murderers, stand out as equally characteristic. By his fearlessness and majesty of spirit in his final hour he showed lesser men to "what perfection" he had attained. No word of reproach for the King who had betrayed him; no flinching; no recrimination. His concern for his servants that they should not be sacrificed, the devotion of the solitary one who refused to leave him, the vain attempts of his enemies to degrade him by the mangling of his corpse, imprinted him upon the minds of his contemporaries; many of whom saw in the subsequent extinction of the Valois dynasty in 1589 a nemesis for the massacre.

In 1749 there was issued in Paris "*Avec Privilege du Roi,*" a 4-volume series of "*Tablettes Historiques, Généalogiques et Chronologiques,*" beginning with Adam and the Patriarchs, and brought up to date. In Partie III, pp. 159-160, under "*Colonels Généraux de l'Infanterie Française*" occurs the following entry:

"(2) *Gaspard de Coligni. G. de Coligny, institué le 29 Avr. 1547-1555. C'est lui qui réduisit l'Infanterie Française sous une même discipline, et fit les Ordonances Militaires que l'on observe encore à présent. Il fut Admiral de France en 1552, et poignardé le 24 Aout 1572.*

"(3) *François de Coligni, Sr d'Andelot, succéda à son frère en 1555-1559.*"

That although Gaspard de Coligny Chastillon was slain by his King's order in the most treacherous and tragic circumstances, *the Military Ordinances of his composing survived as the uniform discipline for all the French Infantry during the two succeeding centuries*, is a testimony to his value, forgotten to-day in England, but deserving of remembrance by all men and especially by soldiers.

¹ "*La Vie de Gaspard de Coligny, Seigneur de Chastillon . . . Gouverneur pour le Roi de L'Isle de France et de Picardie, Colonel General de l'Infanterie Française, & Amiral de France. A Cologne. Chez Pierre Marteau. MDCLXXXVI.*" Preface. p. 6.

² Op. cit: Lib. I. ³ Op. cit: p. 6.

APPENDIX B.

RECENT MISREPRESENTATION OF THE MASSACRE AT PARIS. 1572.

Prior to the present age, historians writing in English, even if prejudiced and often inaccurate, showed some capacity for dismay over cruelty and treachery. But a "school" has arisen of late in which the writers, confessedly finding all religion "irritating", do not comprehend and therefore are unable to depict events which erstwhile stirred the minds of men to the utmost. These matters are now subjected to a levelling process, under which good and evil lose their significance, parallels are drawn between dissimilar persons; the terrors and sublimities of the past are alike blurred. The most appalling crimes are glossed over, the most poignant sufferings, the most indelible wrongs, treated as too remote to be worth one pang of distress on the part of a "sophisticated modern", as Sir John Hawkins' latest biographer describes himself to be.

Having seen the Massacre at Paris in 1572 through contemporary eyes, let us now note how the same circumstances are rendered in a recent work purporting to represent "modern historical analysis."¹

"Catherine de Medici, like Elizabeth, was no simplifier of the complex. She thought of French interests, still more of her dynasty's interests, and more than all of her personal ascendancy."

How it served "French interests" or the "dynasty's interests" to defile the name of the dynasty for ever by the most cold-blooded and ruthless wiping out of thousands of the King's people,—and the depriving him of his greatest and ablest subject, the Grand Admiral of France,—is not explained: nor in what way those hideous methods of massacre in all the principal cities were "like Elizabeth."

"She" (Catherine de Medici) "observed with alarm the admiration of her son for the veteran Coligny, perhaps the only man of sterling character with whom the unhappy Charles IX had ever been intimate."

King Charles's admiration for "the veteran Coligny" was nothing new in 1572; and though it would hardly be possible to overestimate the talents, services, and manly qualities of the Admiral, no writer "intimate" with the Court of Charles IX could suppose that Coligny was "the only man of sterling character" with whom the King was on terms of amity. Mr. Williamson has forgotten two of the most conspicuous personages of the day, both well known in Elizabethan England; Francis, Duke of Montmorency, Lord of Chantilly, Hereditary Constable of France, and Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne, (afterwards Duc de Bouillon): great Catholic nobles, whose "intimate" acquaintance with the King caused them to be the more heart-stricken on that "detestable and horrible day of the massacre."²

¹ James A. Williamson's "Sir John Hawkins, The Time and the Man." Oxford University Press, 1927. p. 169.

² "... Cette tant detestable et horrible journée du massacre . . . cet acte inhumain . . . me navra le coeur, et me fit aimer ceux de la Religion encore que je n'eusse nulle connaissance de leur croyance."

"Les Memoires de Henry de La Tour D'Auvergne, souverain Duc de Bouillon. Adressez à son fils Le Prince de Sedan." Written before 1586. Not published till 1666. Paris. pp. 55-56.

RECENT MISREPRESENTATION

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Not only were there among the Huguenot followers of the Admiral a number of "sterling" noblemen, but also in the group of representative Catholics were some like Turenne, who subsequently demonstrated to the world their compassion for the victims of the Massacre, by carrying their renowned names and wide influence over to the Huguenot remnant, in effort to make some vicarious atonement for the treachery of the King.¹ But to continue Mr. Williamson's combined apologia for Catherine de Medici and distortion of Queen Elizabeth:

"Like Elizabeth again, she was no determined enemy of Spain."

That Queen Catherine was "no determined enemy of Spain" is true; but in this attempt to see her as "like Elizabeth," Mr. Williamson has lost sight of an essential difference. He forgets that a prospect of war against Spain was one of the inducements held out to Admiral de Coligny-Chastillon to lure him to Paris, in 1572, while King Philip was assured by Queen Catherine there would be no such war. And it is unreasonable to bracket Queen Elizabeth, whose series of Commissions to her subjects, after 1584, to defy and "damnify" King Philip, are in the most spirited and uncompromising language, with Catherine de Medici who (at Lord Burghley's direction) was accused by our Ambassador Sir Henry Cobham of especial favour to Spain. But ill-considered pronouncements upon the characters of Sovereigns are a feature of Mr. Williamson's book, in which the modern phrase "the Government" is substituted throughout for the Crown. Not only are the Queen Mother and Queen Elizabeth misrendered, but Philip of Spain is reduced to "a creature of circumstance," "a victim of necessity," and praised for his pacific mind: though this King began his reign with the invasion of France, and, not even excepting his own father or the Sultans of Turkey, was the most noted organiser of wars in his century.

"... In August the Huguenot leaders and thousands of their followers were in Paris for the wedding of Henry of Navarre," is an inadequate way of stating that the Huguenots consented to come to Paris, into the midst of their known enemies, on King Charles's explicit promise of protection.

"On the 22nd an assassin shot at Coligny and wounded him." No mention that the assassin was a servant of the Duke of Guise; nor that the King, and Queen-Mother, the better to deceive the Admiral, visited him in affected condolence, while his chief followers were being gathered together all into one street near him, the easier to have them swiftly slain,—he being disabled and unfit to lead any resistance.

"It is unnecessary to recall the details," says Mr. Williamson. On the contrary, in a large volume claiming to deal with *"The Time"* of Sir John Hawkins in its true *"perspective"* and *"proportion,"* and attempting to pass judgment upon European politics, we might expect such details as are essential to the understanding of the Massacre and its effects.

"Coligny and most of his friends were killed," says Mr. Williamson, without mentioning that it was at midnight, when they were in their beds, and that the Admiral was slain by the Guard appointed nominally to protect him.

Mr. Williamson remarks that *"only Henry of Navarre, the Count de Montgomery and the Vidame de Chartres escaped."* But there were others; some, like Philippe de Mornay, Sieur du Plessis, getting away by the connivance of humane Catholics who were horrified at the conduct of the "Most Christian King." The word "escape" is not applicable to Henry King of Navarre; for even the Queen-Mother Catherine dared not incur the odium of slaying her son-in-law at his wedding festivities. Her object was his compulsory conformity, by which she intended to deprive the Huguenots of leadership, and so render impotent such small remnants of the party as might escape from her assassins.

"Of the rank and file thousands fell and the slaughter extended through France. Some have held that the thing was long premeditated, others that it was the inspiration of a momentary panic." We are not told who are the "some," and who "the others": though in a matter of such vital importance so loose a method of writing is neither "history" nor "analysis."

¹ Particulars under date.

"Most probably," says Mr. Williamson, again not giving any authority for his hypothesis, *"Catherine meant to dispose of no more than the leading Huguenots, and perhaps then to get rid of their Guisard murderers, but the Paris mob got out of hand and made the crime one of unforeseen magnitude."*

Neither "probably," nor "perhaps," was this the case. The elaborate organisation of the massacres, not only in Paris but in the provincial centres, is established beyond denial. That the "Paris mob," far from rising spontaneously, or getting "out of hand," was summoned to its vile task by the ringing of the bells of St. Germain l'Auxerrois at midnight, and led by Henry of Lorraine, Duke of Guise,—that not content with this massacre (in which Mr. Williamson omits to mention women and children among the victims), there were subsequent executions of Huguenots, which the Queen-Mother Catherine forced the King of Navarre and her son King Charles IX to witness; and that the body of the Grand Admiral de Coligny-Chastillon was hanged in effigy as a final insult,—and all this (as we have seen) under the directions of Catherine the Queen-Mother,—are "*details*" which it is exceedingly "necessary" to remember if we are to comprehend how unwarranted is Mr. Williamson's assertion that Catherine de Medici "*most probably*" had not intended wholesale murder, but meant to "*dispose of*" only a few by the hand of the "Guisards," and then slaughter the slaughterers.

Even had this been the limit of her deadly activities, Mr. Williamson would still be unable to discover analogous midnight atrocities in the London of Queen Elizabeth. Cruelties in Ireland during the wars were only too frequent; but they did not take place at wedding feasts; and we shall fail to understand the lasting indignation caused by the Paris Massacre if we do not fully realise how the treachery was contrived through the kiss of peace.

APPENDIX C.

" THE NEW FAIR STAR " 1572.

Of Sir Thomas Smith (who had so overrated the "wisdom" of the young King Charles), and had been proportionately horrified afterwards, his 17th century biographer wrote:

"The new Star which in the year 1572 appeared in Cassiopeia exercised much his thoughts, as it did the rest of the Learned men of the World. And *he could almost have been willing to believe it to be the Soul of that brave Admiral of France, that had been a little before that time so basely murdered in the Parisian Massacre.*"¹

On the 11th December Smith wrote to Walsingham of

"the new fair Star . . . which appeared in England these three weeks on the backside of the Chair Cassiopeia, and on the Edge of Via lactea. The bigness was between the bigness of Jupiter and Venus." He thought also "it might be Astraea, . . . now peaking out afar in the North, to see what Revenge shall be done upon so much innocent Blood shed in France after a marriage banquet."²

Though he did not suppose the Court astrologers of King Charles IX would have any such feeling, he asked Walsingham to inform him what the "Heaven-gazers there did judge of it." But he was not satisfied with their observations subsequently received. "From Hampton Court the 13 of January 1572" (3) he wrote to Walsingham,

"I thank you for your notes which you sent me of the Comet, or new Starre; but in the placing of it your Astronomers³ and ours differ exceedingly. Yours do place it in the 29 of Pisces, and ours in the 7 degree of Taurus, so they vary one whole sign and 8 degrees.

"Your printed book goeth upon it *suspensio pede*.⁴ If any hath more boldly written of it in print, I pray you let me see it. Our men do not deny but that he riseth in that degree of Pisces, or the first of, but it is one thing to rise with the degree of the Zodiack, and to stand in a place after Lexion of the Zodiack: and our men do find him far above the Moon, and above the height of the Sphere of Venus. Then it cannot be a temporarie Comet. Now things above the moon do rise and die, which was never believed afore, but either a new star made, or an old star new seen."⁵

This "strange Star or Comet" was first seen on the 11th of November, 1572, by the Danish Astronomer Tycho Brahe. Appearing "Northward in the Constellation of Cassiopeia" it shone all through that month, until brighter than Jupiter, and equal in brilliance to Venus: "never changing

¹ When a Comet appeared after the murder of Julius Caesar, the ancient world believed it to be Caesar's spirit.

² "The Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith," by J. S. London, 1698, pp. 215-217.

³ Meaning the French.

⁴ Book not identified.

⁵ "The Compleat Ambassador," ed: Sir Dudley Digges. London, 1655. p. 216.

place, fixed far above the Moon's Orb, the like to which never did appear since the beginning of the World that we read of, saving at the birth of Christ."¹

After the end of November '72 it gradually declined in magnitude, until in March 1573-4 it was lost to sight.

Though to Sir Thomas Smith at the time it embodied the indomitable spirit of Admiral de Coligny triumphing over all earthly disasters, six years after its first appearance it was cited as having been a portent of the overthrow and death in battle of Sebastian King of Portugal,—so variously can men interpret the language of the Heavens.

At the end of 1572, Thomas Digges (subsequently Muster Master to Her Majesty's forces and author of various learned works,) wrote to Lord Burghley that the Star portended some "fatall Tragedie."²

"Right honorable my humble dutye premised, default of health not sufferinge mee to attende your Lordshippe my self, I am bould to trooble yo^r honor with these rude lines, to signifie how I haue waded as farre as auncient groundes of Astrologie and Auchthors preceptes of approoved credytt will beare mee *to sifte out the unknowne influence of this newe starre or Comet*: whiche is lyke to be no lesse vchement then rare, as by the first and seconde of the 7 notes heerein enclosed maye partly appeere. The third sheweth from what quarter the calamitye is to be expected. The fourth on what kinde of creature the influence is like to take effect. The 5th and 6th what Regions and Provinces heere on earth are menaced. The 7th bewrayeth the efficient infernall cause, or sutche as are like to plaie the cheefest parte in this fatall Tragedie; More particularities by arte cannot bee gathered; without conference of this situation of the heauens with priuate natiuityes: This 11th of December 1572.

Yo^r Lordshippes
at commaundment
T. DIGGES."

The "7 notes" enclosed are not to be found to-day; so "what Regions and provinces" Digges held to be menaced, and who were the persons forecasted "to plaie the chiefest parte" in the predicted calamities we cannot know.

Not all 16th century statesmen believed in astrology. For Guicciardini it was theme for scornful comment;³ and Lord Henry Howard's dissertation on "*The poison of supposed Prophecies*" is yet more contemptuous.⁴ But among books which Lord Burghley treasured is a MS treatise on Alchemy and Astrology,⁵ compiled in 1545. For him, though astrologers might err, astrology remained a noble science; and Sir Thomas Smith was no mere "smatterer in Astronomy" but one who loved "a spacious prospect of the skies" and had "arrived at the very top of the Astronomical skill."⁶

That this Ambassador, Secretary of State, and author of a famous work on the Laws of England, desired to see in the "new fair star" the soul of the murdered Grand Admiral of France, shows how poetic men's thoughts could be, before Shakespeare was old enough to exercise the genius which we treat to-day as an isolated literary miracle, though rather it was the apotheosis of the mental energy of an age of intense emotions and aspiring minds.

¹ "*The Ancient and Present State of England*," 1678, under "A.D. 1572. November 18" (should be 11th. Correction of date by the Astronomer Royal in reply to enquiry of Commander Walter Raleigh Gilbert, R.N. 1928).

² Unpublished orig: Addressed "To the Right honorable his singuler good Lord the Lord Treasurer of England." Endorsed "11 Dec: 1572. Mr. Diggs. Cometes." S.P.D.E. 90. 12.

³ "Great luck have the Astrologers, who, though theirs be but a vain Science, . . . more faith do they get through one true thing which they prognosticate, than they lose by a hundred false . . ." "*Maxims of Francis Guicciardini*" (1525). Trans: E. Martin (1845), p. 120.

⁴ B.M. 478.a.24. ante, sec: 7. App. B.

⁵ In Hatfield House Muniment Room: C.P. 271

⁶ J.S. in "*The Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith*." 1698. pp. 215-17.

PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER 2.

“ENGLAND’S HONOUR.”

SECTION I.

“Chevallrie, Policy, and Philosophie.”

Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s plan for a “most notable Academy.”
(Circa 1573).

“ . . . then must he be called a gentilman which worketh gentle dedes. No man can justly injoy this name which hath in him leude behaviour or unhonest condicions : although he have therewith annexed the valiaunce of Alexander or if he be sonne to the greatest Duke in Europa, . . . unlesse by the worthynesse of his condicions he deserveth the same.”

“*The Institution of a Gentleman.*” 1555 (2nd ed: 1568.) Anon: Dedicated to Viscount FitzWalter (from 1557 Earl of Sussex).

“ . . . whereas in the Universities men study onely Schole learnings, in this Academy they shall study matters of action meet for present practize both of peace and war : and yf they will not dispose themselves to letters, yet they may learne languages or martiall activities, for the service of their Country . . . And also the other Universities shall better suffice to relieve poore scholars, where now the youth of Nobility and Gentlemen taking up their schollarships and fellowshippes do disapointe the poore of their livings and advauncementes.”

Sir Humphrey Gilbert to the Queen.

Orig: Lansdowne MSS. 98. N.D. (*Archeologia*. XXI. 1827).

“S(ir) Humfrey Gilbert . . . is a gentleman . . . well tryed to bee valiant in martiall affayres . . . hee is also indued with sundrie great gyftes of the mind, and generally well given to the advancement of knowledge and vertue.”

“*George Gascoigne Esquire to the Reader:*” 12 April, 1576: prefacing “*A Discourse of a Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia.*” Written by Sir Homfrey Gilbert Knight.” (B.M. C. 32. b. 29).

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTE ON EVENTS IN 1573¹

FROM LORD BURGHLEY'S MEMORANDA.

- March 5. "The D(uke) of Alva signed the Articles of Accord between him and the Lord Burghley for releasing of the Arrest made in January 1568.
18. Answer given to La Motte Fénelon by Lord Burghley Lord Treasurer, that the Q. can be content that the D. of Alanzon may come by Post into England." (She changed her mind later. See 21 May).
25. The D. of Alanzon went with his brother the D. of Anjou to the Camp before Rochell. . . . *Montgomery went out of England with certain Shipps to enter into Rochell that was besieged.*
- April 26. The Queen Mother wanteth earnestly that her youngest Son Francis might come into England.
- May 1. *The Arrest between England and Spayn released, and Trafficque restored.*²
Castle of Edinburgh besieged by the English.
21. Besme the Alman, that killed the Admiral Chastillon, had his Legg cut off at Rochell with a Cannon Shot, whereof he died.
21. Sir Edw. Horsey sent to the French Kyng, to declare the Causes why hir Majesty could not presently assent that Mons: le Duke of Alanson should come into England. . . .," Horsey being instructed to "move the King" of France to be "reconciled" to his Huguenot subjects in Rochelle.
- June 8. *"Kyng Phillip confirmed the Accord made in March before for opening of the Traffick, by the Duke of Alva and the Lord Burghley.*
- August 1. The French Kyng Charles and Queen Mother offer that Francisco D. of Alanson shall come into England upon his own adventure."

His illness delayed this; but far from Queen Elizabeth's aid to the Huguenots harming her with King Charles IX, it made him the more anxious to placate her.

¹ From *State Papers*, etc., ed. Murdin, 1759, pp. 774-775. To this important selection from the Hatfield MSS only ten Colleges and one school (Eton) subscribed. The publication was financed mainly by private subscribers.

² But not any Ambassador sent to England.

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT'S PLAN FOR FORMATION OF A LIBRARY:

"in London for the Education of Her Majesties Wardes," &c.

Circa 1573: from his holograph MS. : Lansdown 98. f. 5^b.

Having stipulated that the Keeper of the Library should see the books "saffely kepte," "bownde in good sorte, made faste, and orderly set," and also should "keep a Register of all the Bookes in the said Librarie," Sir Humphrey specifies (in the paragraphs now reproduced) that the Librarian must examine the lists of foreign books:

"NOTE

"This keeper after every marte shall cawse the bringers of bookes into England to exhibit to him their Registers before they utter any to any other person, that he may peruse the same, and make choyse of such as the Achademie shall want and shall make the M(aste)r of the Wardes or the Rector of the Achademy privy to his choyse, upon whose warrant the books so provided shalbe payed for. And there shalbe yearly allowed for the buying of bookes for the said LLibrary and the necessary instruments 40 li."

"NOTE

"All printers in England shall for ever be charged to deliver into the LLibrary of the Achademy at their own charges one copy well bownde of every book proclamacion or pamflette that they shall print."

Centuries were to pass before this latter idea was put into action; and it may be doubted if the pioneer project was known to the promoters of the law by which the library of the British Museum and certain of the Universities receive (under the Copyright Act) the advantage Sir Humphrey Gilbert had designed for "Queen Elizabeth's Academy."

Note

The Keeper after every manner shall transmit the bringers of
books into England to exhibit to him their Registers before they
are any to any ^{another} person that he may perceive the same and take
note of such as the Academie shall require and shall make
one of the Wardens or the Rector of the Academie to
give orders upon request warrant to the books so provided shall be
paid for and there shall yearly allowed for the buying of
books for the said Library and other necessary instruments.

Note

The Printers in England shall for ever be charged to
the Library of the Academie at their own charges
to copy well bewarde up our books proclamation or pamphlets
that they shall print.

PART II.

“Particularly the Power of Spain.”

CHAPTER 2.

“ENGLAND’S HONOUR.”

SECTION I.

“Chevallrie, Policy, and Philosophie.”

*Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s plan for “a most notable Academy.”
(Circa 1573).*

“**I** WILL at all times be ready to take anything in hand, . . . not respecting the danger,” for “the service of Her Majesty and Country,” Sir Humphrey Gilbert had written to Lord Burghley “From Flushing the 13th of August 1572.”¹ But the circumstances not being judged favourable to a continuance of his activities in the Low Countries, he was back in England before the winter; and had settled with his wife near London; at Limehouse, then a rural locality. His experiences abroad had convinced him of the need for special training for the sons of the “Noblemen and Gentlemen of England,” that in the dangerous times ahead they should be capable of protecting the Queen and State against the mighty Monarch whom Burghley, Walsingham and Leicester realised to be planning the conquest of our country. They understood how King Philip had the more hope of success, since in October 1571 Don John had smitten the Turks at Lepanto, beating by skilled gunnery the race hitherto acclaimed as master gunners of the world. And it would have been with the battle of Lepanto in mind that Sir Humphrey evolved his project for “*The Erection of an Academy in London for Education of Her Majesties Wardes, and others the Youth of Nobility and Gentlemen*”: in which they were to be trained for the active service of Queen and Country.

Few more interesting schemes have ever been put on paper. Not only do the ideas expressed reveal the principles of one of the most remarkable of Englishmen, fated to toil against heavy odds, and be cut off before he could see the fruition of his

¹ Orig: S.P.D.E. CXXIV. 269 (ante).

labours. We also learn the defects of the existing system. But though Sir Henry Ellis published the manuscript a century ago, and it has been twice reprinted since, this plan for an Academy has never been fully appreciated.¹ It is dismissed in a paragraph in the current Miscellany called "*Shakespeare's England*" published by Sir Humphrey's former University. But if we are to be interested in each Elizabethan work only in so far as it may personally have affected Shakespeare, this exclusiveness defeats our end,—if the object is a perfect comprehension of the England into which Shakespeare was born. Not until thirty-four and a half years after Queen Elizabeth's accession did the name of William Shakespeare first come into print; and, as Shakespearian drama was not the inspirer of Elizabethan English intellectual vigour but the supreme result thereof, we must now go back to the period before it had been evolved.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, deploring that Wards of the Crown fell sometimes into careless or unscrupulous hands, formed a plan which was intended both to relieve the Universities from congestion, and to provide forms of instruction which Oxford and Cambridge did not give.

In reading his suggestions we should remind ourselves that England was then without a Spanish Ambassador: and that although there had been no declaration of war, the dismissal of Don Guerau Despes by the Queen in December 1571 was what had made possible the sending of English forces under Gilbert to the aid of the Dutch against King Philip in 1572. Also that Lord Burghley was quietly preparing for the moment when Spanish hostility might break out in an attempted invasion.

Hence Sir Humphrey's special Academy, to teach shipbuilding and gunnery, and the practical moral of cause and effect which should prevent repetition of former errors.

The reproach brought against him in our day, that he considered only noblemen and gentlemen, arises from not having properly read his words to the Queen. As "the youth of Nobility and Gentlemen" in the Universities were taking scholarships and fellowships *which had been founded for sons of the poor, it would be better, he urged, to keep those scholarships for the purposes designed by their founders.* Sir Humphrey thought to create a new University for the training of Wards of the Crown, whose future duties lay in matters of warfare and the State, for which the existing scholastic methods were not sufficient preparation.

As we now recognise the need for Naval and Military Colleges, it is surely reasonable to admit that Sir Humphrey's was a mind both original and far-seeing.

¹ In 1827 when Ellis transcribed the MS (Lansdowne No. XCVIII) for "*Archæologia*" (Vol. XXI, pp. 506-520), he prefaced his transcript with Camden's "certainly inauspicious account of Sir Humphrey Gilbert," without realising the superficiality of Camden. Dr. Furnivall reprinted the "*Academy*" in 1869, (Early English Text Soc: Extra Series VIII) in a Miscellany of etiquette books, maxims, "Order of Fools," "Ordering of a Funerall," etc.; but in his summary omitted the main points. The *Miscellany* was reissued in 1898. In 1911 attention was drawn to the "*Academy*" by W. Gilbert Gosling in his "*Life of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*," pp. 110-119.

He maintained that boys who had no natural aptitude for literature could become useful if bred for action. Hence his plan by which—while all were to be trained alike on certain fundamentals,—special facilities were to be given to fit each one, according to his disposition, for land or sea service, or for the arts of negotiation. All accomplishments of body and mind were to be bent to the great purpose of so advancing “vertue” that the name of Englishman might win increasing honour, then and “for ever”: and the Queen be made glorious by the achievements of her subjects.

“Forasmuch as (most excellent Sovereign) the most parte of Noblemen and Gentlemen that happen to be your Majesties Wardes, the custody of their bodies being of bounty graunted to some in reward of service or otherwise, . . .” and those guardians being not always careful or considerate, the wards, to the grief of their friends, were too often brought up “in idleness and lascivious pastimes, estranged from all serviceable vertues . . .”

To prevent such abuse of power, Gilbert suggests that “there should be an Academy erected” *in London*.

At Oxford and Cambridge, (the only places for gentlemen’s sons to be educated in England,) if youths be not of a disposition assiduously to “follow learning” no other occupation is provided for them. They are therefore “drawen to licentiousness,” or become immersed solely in sport, knowing nothing except how “to halloo a hounde, or lure a hawk.” And as such defective education “not onely hurteth the body” but also the soul, and darkens the “eyes of reason,” it would be “no small commodity” if the nobility and gentlemen of England could be brought up “in amity and acquaintance” consecrated to “vertue.” Logic and Rhetoric should not be mere scholastic exercises, but a training for future public service: “When the Orator shall practize his scholars, . . . he shall chiefly do it in Orations made in English, both politique and military,” taking examples from history, ancient and modern, “approving or reproving the matter.”

The necessity for such teaching “may partely be seen by the scholasticall rawness” of youths newly come from the Universities. Gilbert would have “the choyse of wordes, the building of sentences” and all the beauties of oratory taught in English; so that “*reason may be sharpened.*”

Boys should learn from the past how to serve in the future: “*all the noble exploiters that ever were or are to be done . . . shall continually be kept in fresh remembrance.*” With great precedents in mind, wise counsels would not be lacking in later life “in doubtfull matters of warre and state . . . For not without cause was Epaminondas commended,” who, journeying in time of peace, used to ask those around him what they would do “if our Enemies were here”?

The “Reader of Morall Philosophie” in the Academy must not discant upon cloudy abstractions, but divide his discourses into Civil and Martial policy; and be widely versed in history. He should explain the condition of all the Monarchies,

Commonweals and Principalities, "that both have bene and are": their strength and capacity, and the causes why their revenues had increased or decreased. Then the matter should be applied "to the present estate and government of this Realme: by which meanes Childeren shall learne more at home of the Civill Pollicies of all forraigne Countries and our own, than most old men do which have travailed farthest abroad."

Having treated of peace, the moral philosopher must pass to preparedness for war; and "particularly declare what manner of forces" the various foreign powers "had and have, and what were and are the distinct disciplines and kindes of armings, training, and maintaining of their soldiers in every particuler kind of service."

"My Reason. By directing the Lectures to th' ends afforesaid, men shall be taught more wit and pollicy than Scole learning can deliver."

Such instruction was "meetest" for those to whom it would "*chiefly appertain to have the managing of matters of estate and policy; ffor the greatest Schole Clarke are not alwayes the wisest men.*"

Youths born to serve the Sovereign in great affairs should "bend themselves" betimes to prepare more for an active than a "bookish" life. So the mathematician in teaching arithmetic and geometry must show the arts of "imbattelinges, fortifications, and matters of Warre, with the practize of Artillery and use of all manner of Instruments belonging to the same." Once a month, "Canonrie" should be demonstrated; the lecturer showing the methods of undermining, and teaching his students to "draw on paper and make in model, and stake out all kinds of fortifications, as well to prevent the mine and sappe as the Canon." Sir Humphrey would have this Chief Mathematician and Engineer well remunerated; his wage to be £100 a year (as much as the Queen allowed her Principal Secretary of State).

The other mathematician was to read Cosmography and Astronomy one day, and next day teach the application to "*the arte of Navigation, with knowledge of the necessary starres, the making use of Instruments apertaining to the same.*" From "*a shippe and galleye made in modell, thoroughly rigged and furnished,*" the pupils could learn the name and use of every part, as also "*the perfect arte of a shipwright.*" (The mathematician's salary of £66 13. 4. was what Her Majesty paid her Master of the Horse: an office then one of the chief "in Court.")

"To draw Mappes," and Sea Charts, was an essential part of Sir Humphrey's scheme of education; as also were martial exercises, which were to be given by "one perfect trained souldier," who would appoint sometimes one young gentleman and sometimes another to act as Captains and lesser officers, in the practice of "skirmishinges, imbattelinges and sondery kindes of marchinges." This "perfect souldier" also was to receive £66. 13. 4. a year.

Medicine and chirurgery were to be taught in English, not Latin; one instructor

expounding both, and receiving £100 a year. He was to confer often with the Natural Philosopher, so that healer and sage should together search into "the secrets of Nature." It would be their duty to deliver each year to the Treasurer, "*faire and plaine written, in parchment, without equivocations or enigmaticall phrases,*" all the experiments made the previous year; in order that their successors might better "*follow the good and avoyd the evil,*" and possibly "*bring great thinges to light*" by this systematic searching.

"The Phisition shall . . . reade Chirurgerie, because through wante of learning therein we have verie few good Chirurgions, yf any at all: by reason that Chirurgerie is not now to be learned in any other place than in a Barbers shoppe; and in that shoppe most dangerous, especially in tyme of plague, when the ordinarie trimming of men for clenlynes must be done by those men which have to do with infected persons."

(Had Sir Humphrey's advice been taken by the Queen, much suffering and loss of life might have been prevented in several of her wars, when in consequence of the shortage of surgeons, or their lack of knowledge of medicine, the numbers who perished miserably of neglected wounds or of disease were more than those who fell by the sword.)

Though Sir Humphrey's scheme included, as a matter of course, Latin and Greek,—and even Hebrew,—his wish to teach logic, rhetoric, "canonry," shipbuilding, medicine and surgery, in English, was the more remarkable in an era when the familiar conversation of students in the Universities was carried on in Latin. Latin being the universal language, in which statesmen negotiated, and sages corresponded, it was not mere pedantry which caused the Universities to employ it on every possible occasion. Nevertheless Sir Humphrey's plea for the perfecting of the vulgar tongue was a bold idea, which, like many another of his notions, has been adopted since without any memory of him.¹

Moreover in an age when teachers—with rare exceptions—were expected to content themselves with a meagre wage, the sums Sir Humphrey proposed the Crown should expend in salaries to instructors were exceedingly high, if estimated (as they have not been before) by comparison with the rates at which Her Majesty paid her principal officials at the Court. That we may swiftly survey the figures they are now put into tabular form. Knowledge of Greek and Latin was then so common that Sir Humphrey expected one man to teach both, at the same pay as the cartographer; and at less than half the salary of the Reader in Divinity, and the chief instructor in arithmetic and geometry. That "one good Horseman" is among the most honoured and well paid of the instructors need not surprise us, in days when horses were not articles of luxury or sport but of necessity.

¹ Latin was not only in use by men trained in the Universities, but also at the Grammar Schools. Some sixteen years later than Sir Humphrey's project, there was issued "*Bibliotheca Scholastica. A Double Dictionarie Penned for all those that would have within short space the use of the Latin tongue, either to speake, or write. Verie profitable and necessarie for Scholers, Courtiers, Lawyers and their Clarkes, Apprentices of London, Travellers, Factors for Merchants, and briefly for all . . . within her Majesties Realmes of England and Ireland. Printed by Joseph Barnes, Printer to the Universitie of Oxford, and are to be sold at the Tyger's head in Paules Church-yard. 1589.*" Thick small 4to. Bodleian: and Lambeth Palace; also Ellis, *Cat*: 265. 1929, (Item 239), p. 53.

TEACHERS.¹

| | Payments Per annum |
|---|-----------------------|
| "one <i>Scolemaster</i> who shall teach both Greke and Latine" | £40 |
| "four ushers allowed to him at £20." | £80 |
| "one who shall reade and teache the <i>Hebrue tongue</i> " | £50 |
| "one who shall reade and teache both <i>Logick and Rhetorick</i> " | £40 |
| "one reader of Morall Philosophie" | £100 |
| "one reader of <i>Naturall Philosophie</i> " | £40 |
| Two <i>Mathematicians</i> : "one of them shall one daye reade <i>Arithmetick</i> and the other day <i>Geometrie</i> ," as applied to <i>Artillery</i> and other martial arts | £100 |
| Allowance to this <i>Engincer</i> "for the powder and shot which shall be employed for the practuze of <i>Canonry</i> and the use of Mines" | £100 |
| "Under him one Usher, who shall teach his scollers the principles of <i>Arithmetick</i> " | £40 |
| Another to teach <i>Geometry</i> | £40 |
| "One good <i>Horseman</i> to teache noblemen and gentlemen to ride, . . . exercizing them to runne at Ringe, Tilte, Tourney, and course of the fieldes yf they shall be armed, and also to skirmish on horseback with pistolls, not taking for the learning of any one of them above 10 ^s by the moneth, he finding them horses for that purpose, and shall be bound to keepe theare 10 greate ready horses for the said exercise" | £333 6 8 |
| Allowance to him "at the first erecting of the stable to buy his horses" £266 13 4 | |
| "One perfect trained <i>Souldiour</i> , who shall teach them to handle the Harquebuz, and to practize . . . all kindes of skirmishings, imbattelings, and sondery kindes of marchings, apointing amonge them some one tyme and some another" to act as Captains and other officers, with "light staves" instead of Pikes and Halberds | £66 13 4 |
| "The other <i>Mathematician</i> shall reade one day <i>Cosmographie</i> and <i>Astronomy</i> ," and next day show the bearings thereof upon the art of Navigation, "with the knowledge of necessary starres, the making use of Instruments apertaining to the same; and also shall have in his schole a shippe and gallye ² made in modell, thoroughly rigged and furnished, to teach . . . as well the knowledge and use by name of every part thereof, as also the perfect arte of a Shipwright . . ." | £66 13 4 |
| "One who shall teach to draw <i>Mappes</i> , <i>Sea Chartes</i> , etc., and to take by view of eye the platte of any thinge" and teach "rules of proportion and necessary perspective and mensuration . . ." | £40 |
| "One Doctor of Physick, who shall one day read <i>Phisick</i> and another daie <i>Chirurgerie</i> in the Englishe toung, ³ and towching all kindes of ulcers, sores . . . woundes . . . together with all kindes of medicines for the same . . ." | £100 |
| The <i>Physician</i> shall practice with the <i>Natural Philosopher</i> to find the secrets of Nature; and the <i>Physician</i> shall study chirurgery. <i>Philosopher</i> and <i>Physician</i> shall share a garden; for the maintenance of which, with their lectures they shall receive | £100 |
| "One reader of <i>Divinitie</i> " | £100 |
| "One reader of the Civill Law." | £100 |

¹ Tabulated and abbreviated from Sir Humphrey's MS.² i.e. both a ship and a galley.³ The majority of medical books were in Latin, Spanish and Portuguese.

WAGES OF TEACHERS

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| | Payments Per annum | |
|--|--|-----|
| "One Lawyer" to teach Common Law, preparing his pupils "exquisitely" to hold the offices of Justice of the Peace, and Sheriff | £100 | |
| Modern languages { | Teacher of <i>French</i> | £26 |
| | An usher under him | £10 |
| | Teacher of <i>Italian</i> | £26 |
| | His usher | £10 |
| | Teacher of <i>Spanish</i> | £26 |
| | Teacher of "the <i>Highe Duche</i> tongue" | £26 |
| "One Master of Defence . . . experte in the Rapier and Dagger, the Sworde and Tergat, the gripe of the dagger, the Battaile axe and the Pike . . ." | £26 | |
| "One who shall keep a <i>Dawncing</i> and <i>Vawting</i> Schole" | £26 | |
| "One Teacher of <i>Musick</i> , and to play on the Lute, the Bandora, and Cytterne, etc." | £26 | |
| His usher | £10 | |
| Steward, Cookes, Butlers, and other necessary officers | £100 | |
| "A Minister and Clark" | £66 13 4 | |
| One perfect <i>Herald of Arms</i> , to teach "Noblemen and Gentlemen to blaze arms" also the art of Heraldry; and the keeping of a Register in the Academy of the "Descents and Pedigrues" of the pupils | £26 | |
| "One Keeper of the <i>Liberarie</i> of the Academy . . . to see the bookes there safely kepte, to cawse them to be bound in good sort, made fast, and orderly set; and shall keepe a Register of all the Bookes . . . that he may geve accompte of them when the Master of the Wardes or the Rector of the Academy shall apoint . . ." | £26 | |
| For the buying of bookes (at foreign fairs) and other necessary instruments (yearly) ¹ | £40 | |
| "One <i>Treasorer of the Academy</i> " | £100 | |
| "One <i>Rector</i> " whose main task would be to discover for which profession the nature of each pupil was particularly suited; the Master of the Court of Wards "being made privy" to the decision | £100 | |
| The <i>Master of the Court of Wards</i> to be "chiefest Governor of this Academy," because the overseeing of Wards "doth chiefly belong to him" | £200 | |
| "For the furnishing of a <i>Librarie</i> and <i>Instrumentes</i> . . . together with the buying of horses as aforesaid, and all other necessary thinges for the first furnishing of this Academy" | £2000 | |
| "The afforesaid whole yearly wages and the Charges of this Academy amownteth unto | £2507 6 8 | |
| "The whole yearly charges for the Commons of the said Readers, Officers, and Servantes in this Academy amownteth to | £459 6 8 | |
| "Which maketh yearly in all | £2966 13 4 | |

In the further ideas of Sir Humphrey we shall see the forerunners of the learned Societies; for he would have required of the teachers of "Arte and Common Laws" that once in every six years they should "*set forth some new Bookes in printe according to their severall professions.*" The teachers of languages "once in every Three Yeares" were to "publish in printe some translation into the English tounge of some good worke, as neare as may be for the advawncing of those thinges which shalbe practized in the said Academy. All which bookes

¹ English books to be supplied free; see facsimile of Note ante.

shal for ever be entituled as *set forth by the Gentlemen of Queene Elizabethes Academy*, whereby all the Nations of the Worlde shall once every six yeares at the furthest, receive greate benefitt, to your Highness' immortall fame."

Also on every 7th September (the Queen's birthday) and 17th November, (her Accession anniversary) "there shall be a Sermon in the Academy, whereby the Awditary shall be put in mind who was the fownder thereof. *By which meanes the tounge of man shall write for ever, in the eares of the living to the honour of the dead. . .*"

Sir Humphrey expresses himself confidently as to the value to the nation which would accrue from such an institution, and he implores the Queen to be the means of "*bringing this seely frozen Island intoo such everlasting honour that all the nations of the world shall know and say, when the face of an English gentleman appeareth, that he is eyther a Souldiour, a Philosopher, or a gallant Courtier, whereby in glory your majesty shall make yourself second to no Prince living. . .*"

"And whereas the fame of the noblest Conquerers that ever were is onely renewed by History," the Queen is promised that besides figuring in History after her death she shall "fill the eyes of the world" with new matter during her life, by means of the periodical publications of the Academy: "*. . . the perusing of the old and expectacion of the new shall occupy continually every mannes tongue.*"

Moreover whereas too many gentlemen in the realm, because of their defective education, are now "good for nothing," every gentleman shall become "good for somewhat": and the Court "shall not onely be greatly encreased with gallant gentlemen, but also with men of vertue, *whereby Your Majestys and your successors Courtes shall be for ever, in steade of a Nurserie of Idlenes, . . . a most noble Academy of Chevallrie, Pollicy, and Philosophie to your greate fame.*"

Carried away by his glorious forecast, Sir Humphrey's reference to the Court as "a Nurserie of Idlenes," and his peroration that by so good a work as the founding of this Academy Her Majesty not only could make her name live for ever but bring herself "into Goddes favour," were not likely to have propitiated a Monarch so convinced that she already possessed the peculiar favour of the Almighty, and accustomed to be assured of the eternity of her fame, without any bestowal of £2,966. 13. 4. to ensure its perpetuation.

Depicted as the Queen had been by Hans Eworts, as eclipsing Minerva, Juno, and Venus, Gilbert's suggestion that her fame to posterity was yet to be earned, cannot have failed to be displeasing. At Hampton Court Palace we can still see Eworts' painting with its Latin verses upon the superior wisdom, power and beauty of the Queen of England.¹ In the matter of compliments she exacted unqualified praise without conditions. The lady who approved the painting of herself as eclipsing in her single person a triad of goddesses, could not conceive that any Academy, with its attendant expenses, was necessary for the enhancement of her

¹ Ante, 1569, II. 1. 2.

glory. That she was deaf to Sir Humphrey's arguments was not that she was indifferent to the culture of her time (as alleged in the Dictionary of National Biography in the outline of her life). Her diligence in "learning," even in her childhood, her readiness to orate in Latin, and converse with foreign visitors each in his own tongue, were remarked over and over again at the Court. The pleasure she took in books was no mere affectation; and many a "simple scholar" was able to applaud her "princelie magnanimitie" that she graciously accorded him permission to dedicate to her the upshot of his humble labours. Her failure to countenance Sir Humphrey's project has been wrongly attributed to lack of interest in education. The stumbling block is likely to have been the high rates of remuneration fixed for the principal teachers, at the expense of the Crown.

No contemporary comment upon the scheme can be found. Presumably it was read only by the Queen and Burghley. Its general principles, especially the prominence given to history and heraldry, and the practical teaching of "vertue"; the endowment of a garden wherein the physician and the natural philosopher might be allies, instead of rivals, in search of truth; the teaching of Cosmography and Astronomy, and of the making of maps and charts; the exercise of oratory for practical purposes; a sufficient knowledge of law; the accomplishment of music; and proficiency in modern as well as classical languages; all these points were in harmony with the tastes of Burghley, whose love for "noble arts" may be seen now from examination of books bearing his autograph¹; also from many grateful dedications to him, revealing such a wide range of interests, including horsemanship, as will surprise every reader who has believed the now usual assertions that the Lord High Treasurer cared nothing for literature.² In Gilbert's scheme, the relatively large expenditure upon horses and special training in horsemanship, was eminently suitable; considering that by Statute Law each landed proprietor was obliged to keep a scheduled number of horses in readiness for defence of the realm.³

There does not appear to have been any point upon which Burghley could have disapproved of the Academy. But to extract from the Queen permission for the specified expenditure would have been exceedingly difficult. Accustomed to receive much in gifts, and to expect the national business to be done largely at the cost of her "noblemen and gentlemen,"—many of whom gave "voluntary increase" of Cavalry extra to what the law demanded,—she would more likely have expected them to contribute the sums desired for the foundation of an Academy, for education for their sons in her service, than to look upon such provision as her own duty.

Had Sir Humphrey, in search of Cathay or El Dorado, been able to acquire for himself a princely wealth to endow the Academy in Her Majesty's name, there is no cause to doubt that she would have granted him a Royal Charter. But, as

¹ List first published V. 3.

² As alleged in Denis's "*House of Cecil*." 1914. ³ Stat: of H. VIII.

with so many of his plans, the obstacle was lack of money. It was not the Queen of England but the Kings of Spain and Portugal who then ruled over Empires upon which the sun never set; and who commanded the seas and the wealth thereof: a fact we are apt to forget to-day.

In 1929 the only known authentic portrait of Sir Humphrey Gilbert was put into the hands of a cleaner, by its owner, Sir Humphrey's descendant and representative, Commander Walter Raleigh Gilbert, R.N. This picture, unlikeliest, expressionless, with nothing of the grace of Sir Humphrey's letters, reflects scant credit upon the nameless artist, and conceals rather than reveals Sir Humphrey's spirit. Nevertheless, enigmatic and unprepossessing as it is, it has its message for posterity. In cleaning the dark background, a device emerged above Sir Humphrey's motto *Quid non* (What not?): namely the signs of Mercury and Mars united,—this being symbolic of the blending of the noble arts with vigour and valour, such as Queen Elizabeth's Academy should have embodied "for ever."

Foiled in his project for this new University, Sir Humphrey turned his mind again to "*the planting of people and habitations*" in some "rich and unknown land" such as he and Sir Richard Grenville and other West Country gentlemen believed Heaven to have "reserved for England." In the spring of 1573-4 they applied to the Queen for leave to go forth at their own charges, to increase her power and dominion: without any trouble or expense to her Majesty,—only "her gracious allowance of our good meaning." No answer is preserved with their Petition; and another four years were to elapse before Sir Humphrey could procure the Royal Assent to his adventure. Though he numbered among his personal friends Leicester, Burghley, and Walsingham, the stars in their courses seemed to fight against him. But he never wavered in his inborn conviction that Heaven intended "the Crown of England" to extend its power far and wide into "strange lands"; and thereby attain at last the Sovereignty of the Seas.

¹ In 1869 the editor of the Early English Text Soc: reprint, (Extra Series VIII, p. xi), Dr. Furnivall, remarked,

"The plan of the Achademy is in fact one for the establishment of a great London University for the education of youths in the art of political, social, and practical life,—a kind of prototype of the London University so wisely pleaded for of late years by Professor Seeley, which should gather into itself the whole range of modern London teachers and studies."

This summary overlooks the religious and naval and military training; and forgets Sir Humphrey's argument that boys not disposed to "bookishness" should have their energies concentrated upon training for strenuous active service of Queen and Country. A special feature of the Academy is its anticipation of the modern Cadet Corps. Moreover it was not for "education of youths" in general, but expressly designed to fit the "youth of Nobility and Gentry" for the duties which would be likely to fall to them in later life, as officers by sea and land, and at the Court.

The modern phrase "Political, social and practical life" might be republican; Sir Humphrey's project was to have caused the name of Queen Elizabeth to be honoured in perpetuity; and this was no mere flattery. The monarchical spirit was an essential part of English inspiration and activity. To slur it over is to deprive ourselves of perfect comprehension of that age.

APPENDIX.

"THE PLANTING OF PEOPLE AND HABITATIONS." 1573-4.

*Petition to the Crown for leave to discover "rich and unknown lands."*¹

That "the Queenes most excellent Majestie" would "allow an enterprise by us conceived" to proceed under the protection of her "most princely name," was the request of Gilbert, Grenville, and others; urging that many benefits would ensue,—especially the spread of Christianity, the sale of English goods, "the increase and maintenance of seamen," and "the relief of the people at home."

For the honour and profit of England, Sir Humphrey and his friends propose to discover and enjoy "all or any lands, islands and countries beyond the Equinoxial, or where the Pole Antarctic hath any elevation above the horizon": such lands not being already possessed by any other Christian Prince "as by the charts and descriptions shall appear."

The seas and passages as far as Brazil and the Moluccas are daily passed by the Portuguese, and are known to our own mariners. The desired lands are "beyond the zone of the Portugals sailings" and "nearer to the temperature of England." Gilbert, Grenville, Peckham, and Carlisle have ships "well prepared," and crews to whom the passage "almost thither" is already familiar; and they would carry for barter "good and welcome commodities" from home. "The West Country is the aptest of all parts of England for navigation southwards the Portugale hath attained one part of the Newfound world to the East; the Spaniard another to the West; the French the third to the North." And "*now the fourth to the South is by God's providence left for England. . . .*"

Among advantages are "the likelihood of bringing in great treasure of gold, silver, and pearl" such as "other Princes" acquire (meaning the Kings of Spain and Portugal), "*the setting of our own idle people to work, and providing for them, both with the travail of the navigation, and the work of cloths and things to be carried thither;*" and "*the avoiding of discommodities and perils that we be now subject unto, when the wealth and work of the land and people dependeth partly upon the will of our scant-trusting neighbours. . . .*"

All possible objections are answered; and as to danger of attack from Spaniards and Portuguese, "*our strength shall be such as we fear it not.*" Neither would they provoke it; "we mean to keep the Ocean," and not go into "ports or places" belonging to Portugal or Spain. To any man who thinks such enterprises would cause "the dispeopling of England," the answer is do not the people abound? Is there not a greater number already than can conveniently be provided for?² Many get into bad ways and end on the gallows; who could better be used in maritime adventures.

As for wasting mariners and shipping, it would increase both; "as by the example of Spain and Portugal is seen, who have by means of their traffic to the Indies and the Newfound Land a great number of great ships. . . ." If cavillers object to the absence of mariners and ships "in far voyages" on the pretext that "*we may need them at home,*" such an argument, if once accepted, would prevent any navigation at all into foreign parts; whereas such navigation is "*the true Defence of the Realm.*"

¹ S.P.D.E. xvc. 63. Endorsed "22nd March, 1573. Supplication of certain gent. in ye west partes for a newe nauigation. To ye Qn. Ma^{tie}": and in another hand, "*Sr Humphrey Gilbert, Sr George Peckham, Mr. Carlisle, and Sr Ri. Greenvile and others. Voiaiges.*"

² Some six millions was apparently the total population of England and Wales; and there had been a heavy death roll during the winter of 1563-4 in consequence of the Plague. I. i. 5 ante.

As for offence to foreign Princes, there need be none. *Why should not Englishmen do what Portuguese and Spaniards do?* Why not "pass by the same seas as they do? provided that "nothing is taken from them that they possess"?

"The precedent of Hawkins' voyage" is invoked as a venture approved by Her Majesty and the Council. But Gilbert, Grenville and Peckham intended more than to carry out voyages of traffic. They aspire to "possession"; and "*the planting of people and habitations.*" As this is lawful for Portuguese and Spaniards, and as Thomas Stukeley and his company have been allowed concessions in "Terra Florida," what objection can be made to other concessions now? The Pope claimed authority over the Seas; but let those be bound by it who acknowledge his sway in other matters! The "gentlemen who offer this enterprise" reiterate that they will perform it at their own cost, and with the aid of others who may "willingly" join them. They can "set forward four good ships," and will spend £2,000 on the shipping, furniture and guns; £2,000 more on victuals and other necessities; and another £1,000 on merchandise suitable for exchange.

Her Gracious Majesty in granting her "Letters Patents" is requested to add words of approval, and to establish some "governance and authority" vested in the Company, so that "*obedience, quiet, unity, and order may be preserved*"; also to give them letters of commendation to such Princes and Peoples as may be encountered. Her orders are solicited for the establishing of her "*dominion and amity*" in all such places as the discoverers may select. And if the Lord High Admiral is "not satisfied with the proposals," it is requested "that we may attend upon you" to explain further.

This Petition of the Gentlemen of the West "To the Right Honorable the Lorde Hyghe Admirall of England" does not contain any annotation to show why the Queen refused her countenance.¹ It was not until four years later, 1578, that Sir Humphrey Gilbert, after much persistence, was to succeed in persuading his Sovereign to give ear to what he had pleaded twelve years earlier in his "*Discourse of a Discoverie of a new passage to Cataia*" (1566): hoping to bring

"honour and strength to Your Majesty, with immortal fame, . . . besides the great enriching of Your Highness and your country, with increase and maintenance of the Navy."

¹ S.P.D.E. xcv. 64¹. Docketted only "To my L. admyrall for the Sowth voiage of the western gent." It enclosed the letter for the Queen.



Printed for the Author
At the Sign of the Dove with the Griffin
at Royal Leamington Spa
in the County of Warwick

MCMXXXIII